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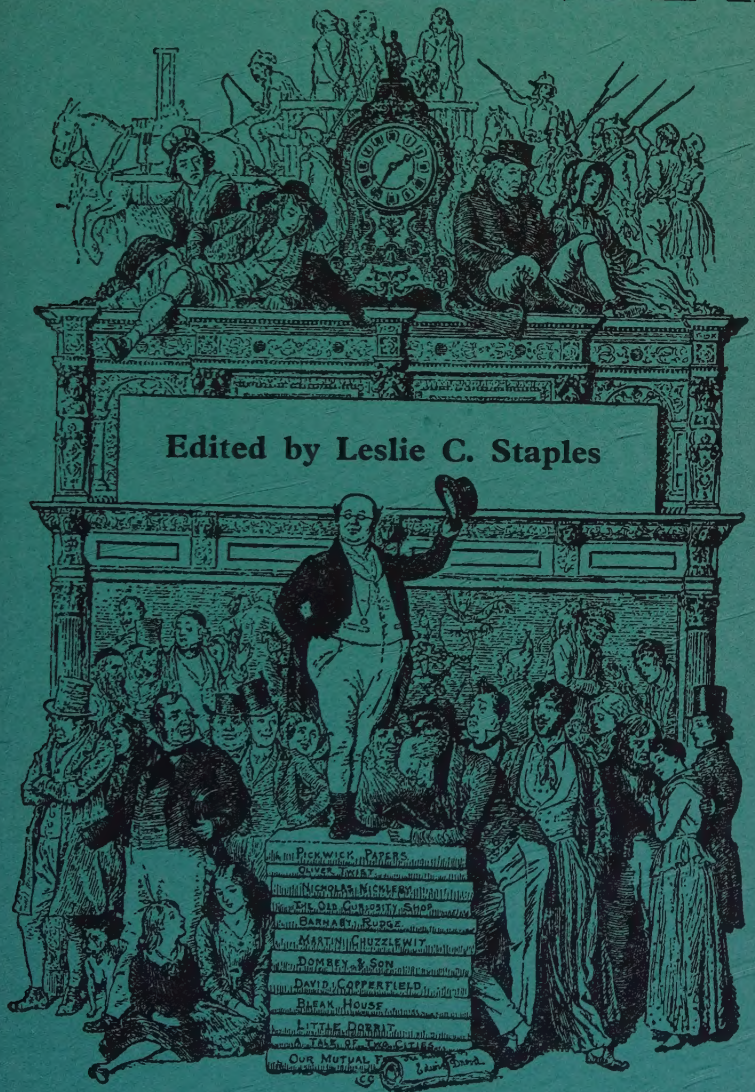
THE DICKENSIAN



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B. W. MATZ
1865-1925

The Founder of the Dickens Fellowship, 1902

THE DICKENSIAN

DICKENS FELLOWSHIP JUBILEE NUMBER

VOL. XLVIII. SEPTEMBER 1952 No. 304

THE JUBILEE CELEBRATIONS

H.M. QUEEN ELIZABETH, THE QUEEN MOTHER

The Dickens Fellowship will achieve its Golden Jubilee on October 6th. The celebrations will open with the Forty-sixth Annual Conference, at Ashridge, Herts., on Friday, September 12th. The new President, Sir Gerald Barry, writes on another page of the series of events which are to follow, in London, under his leadership, and with the generous support of the *News Chronicle*, the successor to Dickens's own *Daily News*. The climax will be reached on October 30th, when Mr. Emlyn Williams, last year elected a Vice-President of the Dickens Fellowship, will most generously give his original programme of Dickens Readings at Drury Lane Theatre, in aid of the Dickens House Endowment Fund. The seal has now been set upon that performance by the gracious patronage of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth, the Queen Mother, who has intimated that she intends to be present. Her Majesty has expressed the greatest interest in the Fellowship's work in the establishment of the Dickens House, and her attendance at the Matinee will give the keenest pleasure to Dickensians throughout the world. She will receive the very warmest welcome from Dickensians fortunate enough to be present. They will participate in one of the truly historic occassions in the Fellowship's history.

* * * * *

The new President The new President of the Dickens Fellowship is Sir Gerald Barry. A distinguished man of affairs, Sir Gerald has been editor of the *Saturday Review*, founder and editor of the *Week-end Review*, editor of the *News Chronicle*, and, most recently, Director of the Festival of Britain. The Fellowship is already deeply indebted to him for the care and thought which he has put into arrangements for the Jubilee. We look forward to a highly successful season under his presidency.

* * * * *

June 9th The eve of the anniversary of the death of Dickens falling this year upon a Sunday, there was a very large gathering of home and overseas members for the customary simple ceremony in Westminster Abbey. The party having been welcomed by the Dean, and a wreath laid on the grave by Sir John Shuckburgh, members moved into the crossing for evensong at which a sermon on Dickens was preached by Canon Fox.

* * * * *

Opera from Dickens In contrast to the popularity of Shakespeare as a source of opera libretti, there have been few operas based on the work of Dickens. Perhaps the most notable are Sir Alexander Mackenzie's *Cricket on the Hearth*, and Albert Coates's *Pickwick*. But the number has now been added to by Mr. Arthur Benjamin, who has written another: *A Tale of Two Cities*. The composer writes that Dickens's story has been faithfully followed with the single exception of the death of Madame Defarge, which he says would be quite impossible to treat operatically as it is written. The work requires eight leading singers in a cast of nineteen, and has been arranged by Cedric Cliffe in three acts and five scenes.

* * * * *

Pickwick dramatised In any attempt to translate Dickens's long and complicated novels, especially *Pickwick*, into stage plays, the adapter is wise to select an episode, or episodes, and build his play upon that core. This is what Stanley Young did when writing his *Trial of Mr. Pickwick*, produced at the Westminster Theatre on May 15th, to a considerable chorus of praise from the critics. Pictorially, it provided a charming entertainment but Dickens's characters were so ruthlessly deprived of their rightful actions in order to swell other parts, that the play became something quite different from the book we know so well. This procedure led to some difficulty in bringing the play to a conclusion. As one critic observed, " When it arrived at the Fleet, the play sank with all hands."

* * * * *

Violet Dickens It is with regret that we announce the death of Miss Violet Georgina Dickens, which occurred on May 31st at Birmingham. Miss Dickens, who was in her 73rd year, settled in England in 1912, after the death of her father, Alfred Tennyson Dickens, fourth son of the novelist. Since that time she had lived with her elder sister Katherine, whose death we recorded last December.

* * * * *

A Cheeryble Landmark Lancashire has recently lost, by the demolition of Nuttall Hall, Ramsbottom, another link with the Grant Brothers who sat to Dickens for their portraits as the Cheerybles. Once a fine house of the late Georgian period in which the Grants resided, it had greatly deteriorated, and restoration proved too costly.

LESLIE C. STAPLES.

THE DICKENS FELLOWSHIP JUBILEE

By Sir Gerald Barry
President 1952-53

EVERYONE is on tiptoe to make this Jubilee Year really worthy of the great occasion. What a privilege to be President in such a year—and what a responsibility. All have been hard at work to complete a varied programme that will have the proper admixture of dignity and geniality, and thanks to the generosity of many friends I think we can now look forward to a series of events that will not only be memorable in itself but should reap a bumper harvest in this Jubilee Year for the funds of the Dickens House. We hope the Fellowship and its friends will find this programme to their liking. At all events it has a rich variety.

For the evening of the Banquet at the Dorchester Hotel on Monday, September 15th, a notable gathering is in prospect. The toast list is to be shared this year by six greatly distinguished and greatly differing speakers, who between them are nicely equipped to pay tribute to widely varying aspects of the Master's genius. Mr. Justice Cassels, Sir Hugh Casson, Sir Alan Herbert, Sir Compton Mackenzie, Mr. Stephen Potter, and Mr. Livingston Stebbins of Boston, Mass.: wit, wisdom, scholarship and gusto—I need not, I will not, specify which from whom! This promises to be a rare evening even in the Fellowship's distinguished annals, and it will be an honour indeed to occupy the chair.

Preceding the Banquet on the same day there will be a Reception at Crosby Hall, Chelsea, at half-past two in the afternoon, at which members of the Dickens family will meet members of the Fellowship. Mr. R. C. D. Shuckburgh, a great-grandson, will speak. The Tour of Dickensland begins the next morning.

Then, on the evening of Monday, October 6th, the actual Jubilee date, the Fellowship has arranged what looks like being a really first-class evening for its members in an exquisite setting—the Middle Temple Hall, which the Benchers have most kindly placed at its disposal. Lord Dunboyne, Mr. J. E. S. Simon, Q.C., M.P., and Mr. George Edinger, will stage a mock appeal in the case of Bardell *v.* Pickwick, with Sir Arthur Comyns Carr acting as Judge. Personally I am looking forward to this with great expectations. Afterwards a giant birthday cake will be cut and punch will be served to the company. I hope to have the pleasure of receiving the guests on that evening at 7 o'clock.

This is by no means all. Mr. Emlyn Williams, whose superb Dickens Readings have had such deserved success here and in America, has very generously promised to give a special repeat performance of his original repertoire in aid of the Dickens House Endowment Fund, and plans are in hand for this to take place at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, on the afternoon of Thursday, October 30th. More details of this performance should be available soon. Meanwhile anyone who missed Mr. Emlyn Williams' performances last year will, if he has any sense, make a point of taking the unexpected opportunity now afforded to repair the omission, for this will be the *only reading this year* of Mr. Williams' original programme.

I have left to the last a word on what is, in one sense at least, perhaps the most striking Jubilee event of all. Certainly, too, in terms of first-rate talent—and of time—given freely to our cause, it is an event calling for our deepest gratitude. This is the publication of a brand-new anthology of *The Humour of Dickens*, which the *News Chronicle* has most enterprisingly arranged to publish in aid of the Dickens House Endowment Fund.

When I say that this anthology has been selected and edited by my old friend, Mr. R. J. Cruikshank, C.M.G.—Editor of the *News Chronicle* and Dickensian of Dickensians beloved and admired of us all—I have said more than enough to ensure that it will be on all our bookshelves by the morning after it has appeared in the bookshops. (It will be out during the first week of September.) But there *is* still more to say, all the same. Mr. Cruikshank has made an entirely new selection from an admittedly inexhaustible stock of riches; over seventy famous characters will appear in it. More still: this book will be unique in the proper sense of the word in that ten famous cartoonists and comic artists of today have made special drawings of their own choice illustrating their favourite characters or passages. In these drawings we shall be re-introduced to the characters of Dickens as seen through the eyes of the leading cartoonists of the twentieth century—a brilliant stroke of editing. The artists who have most kindly drawn their illustrations, as a gift, are: Messrs. E. J. Ardizzone, Michael Cummings, Giles, Arthur Horner, Leslie Illingworth, Joss, Osbert Lancaster, David Low, Ronald Searle, Vicky. A galaxy of talent if you like.

We must all be deeply grateful to the *News Chronicle*, to Mr. Cruikshank, and to these ten famous artists for their great generosity, and I should like to couple with these the name of Mr. Hubert Powell, who has given much careful thought and labour to the production of this book as well as to other arrangements for the Jubilee programme. "The Humour of Dickens" will undoubtedly be far and away the best bargain in the book-world this autumn, or for many autumns. I have been privileged to read the text and see the drawings in advance, so I know what I am talking about. It is being published at the astonishing, the incredible, the absurd price of three shillings and sixpence. Here is the perfect, truly inexpensive Christmas present for *all* your friends.

FROM THE FOUNDER'S DAUGHTER

With the approach of the Jubilee of the Fellowship may I send Greetings to all members throughout the World and specially to those who knew my father and who were his valued friends.

I am sure that had he been spared to see the expansion of the Fellowship—the fulfilment of his life's work—he would have been most proud and happy.

The success which the Fellowship now enjoys shows how faithfully his friends have carried on the work he started fifty years ago and my best wishes go out to them all.

WINIFRED MATZ.

A LIVING PRESENCE

By Sir John Shuckburgh
Chairman of Council of the Dickens Fellowship

FACTS and figures are proverbially stubborn things, but figures are the more stubborn of the two. Facts can sometimes be explained away or toned down into a mere shadow of their real significance. Figures have an awkward habit of remaining constant. The contrast is inescapable; it is one that falls within the personal experience of every one of us; and the older one grows, the more assertive does it become. Suppose (as is only too probably the case) that your life has not been markedly successful or distinguished. That does not after all matter so very much. Most other people are in the same boat. Which of us cannot recall occasions on which we showed up in no very brilliant light? Which of us, without straining our mental powers too severely, could not draw up a dismal little list of chances missed and opportunities mishandled? But time, the all-softener, comes charitably to our rescue. Half-lights succeed the full glare of day. A gentle haze settles down upon the past, rounding off its more rugged outlines and blurring its cruder hues.

With facts, yes; but with figures there is a different story to tell! They are not so easy to alter or explain away. For example, no process of mental gymnastics, no flight of wishful thinking, can affect the number of years that a man has spent upon this earth. If he is in the seventies, he is in the seventies: there is no getting away from it. Statistics have got to be faced. Those concerning Charles Dickens had better be set down at once, baldly and without circumlocution. He was born in 1812; he made his first bid for fame in 1837; he died in 1870. All fairly ancient history, as will at once be perceived. Even his death occurred over eighty years ago. Just consider how profoundly the whole world has been transformed since his day. When he was born railways were still unknown, Napoleon had yet to meet with his débâcle, modern conceptions of democratic government and the Welfare State were undreamed of even by the most forward-reaching intellects of the day. The motor car and the aeroplane lay in the womb of the future: to say nothing of radio and television. Society was divided on well-understood and well-defined lines. The leadership of the wealthy and aristocratic class was not seriously challenged. The England of Dickens's childhood—one may affirm it in all sober truth—was scarcely more remote from the England of Shakespeare or even of Chaucer than from the England of our own time.

Yet, in spite of the immense changes that have taken place, we still feel that Dickens is one of ourselves. Not a mere "classic" like so many other famous literary figures; but a living, breathing presence that moves our fancy and stirs our emotions as though he were still dwelling in our midst. The present year witnesses the jubilee of the Dickens Fellowship, a body founded fifty years ago with the express object of keeping green the memory of one of the greatest of all writers. What exactly does the occasion mean to us to-day? Certainly it stands for nothing conventional

or perfunctory; nothing in the nature of a ritual duty to be suitably discharged for the sake of appearances and then consigned to a decent oblivion. Nothing of the sort: none of us feel like that about Charles Dickens. If we did, the Dickens Fellowship could not have endured for half a century nor could its spirit still burn—as we all know that it does—with an undimmed and undiminished flame.

There must be some secret underlying it all: some explanation of the undoubted fact that we are still so near to Dickens; that we still cherish for him an intimate and abiding affection such as none of his contemporaries, brilliant and outstanding as many of them were, can any longer command. It is easy, but in many respects misleading to speak of the "modernity" of his genius. In a sense he is not modern at all. His world, as has been said, is not our world; not only has the scene been changed out of all recognition, but many of its most striking types have, to all outward seeming, vanished completely and for ever. So completely indeed that it calls for some effort of the imagination to believe that such types ever existed at all. Take one obvious example; the social conditions that gave birth to Sir Leicester Dedlock are scarcely less obsolete to-day than those that produced the Black Prince or Richard Coeur-de-Lion. Yet those conditions did once exist—of that there is no doubt—and the tribe of Dedlock which grew out of them flourished mightily in its day. Sir Leicester was no chance flight of fancy. He and his like really did breathe and move and have their being. There were plenty of them; there is no need to look far for evidence of their incredible pride (or so it seems to us now) in "family" and landed estate, for that amazing sense of privilege and of remoteness from the common herd. Nor was the type confined to the countryside. The arrogant land-owner had his counterpart in the arrogant city man. Mr. Dombey, no less than Sir Leicester Dedlock, was the child of his generation and of social conditions and a social background that are unlikely ever to be revived. The same, by the way, cannot be said of all Dickens's city magnates. Mr. Merdle and those of his kidney have survived into our own day and will continue to flourish, it may be feared, so long as there is a money market in which to operate or dupes to be relieved of their superfluous wealth. Roguery, as Thackeray said of courage, never goes out of fashion. Other examples of a vanished type readily occur to the mind. Lord Decimus Tite Barnacle, but he is little more than another version of Sir Leicester—a Sir Leicester in high politics; Martin Chuzzlewit the elder, an inevitable product of Victorian mammon-worship; Mr. Squeers, Sarah Gamp, Jo Gargery, Mr. Gradgrind. Their name indeed is legion: widely different characters, all of them; but having this in common that they lie beyond our own direct experience. They are "period-pieces." One could not expect to meet any of them, or any one at all resembling any of them, in the club, or the underground, or anywhere under modern English skies. Their varying types have all disappeared. The hospital nurse of to-day, whatever her origin or surroundings, has no sort of resemblance to Mrs. Gamp; nor do modern schoolmasters, even

the coarsest and least humane among them, reproduce the qualities of Mr. Squeers. The page of history, across which such strange people once staggered and sprawled and pirouetted, has been definitely turned.

So much must be conceded. Much of what Dickens wrote, many of the most famous of his creations, have become what, in modern parlance, is called "dated." They reflect an age that has passed away, and one that it is difficult for us to understand or reconstruct. Yet, more than 80 years after his death, we still claim him, and claim him emphatically, as one of ourselves. Yes, as one of ourselves. For that is what we all feel; that is the evangel that inspires everyone of us: the faith that we can allow no one to challenge or deny. The explanation, if explanation be needed, suggests itself readily enough. The single word "humanity" supplies a clue to the riddle. Of all writers Dickens is the most intensely and eternally human. His characters, or some of them, may be "dated" in their more superficial aspects; but their essential humanity preserves them effectively against the ravages of time. Habits, outlook, idiosyncrasies are variable; human nature remains unchangeable. "We are sure," wrote Macaulay in a passage which has often been quoted, "that the Greeks of Shakespeare bear a far greater resemblance than the Greeks of Racine to the real Greeks who besieged Troy; and for this reason, that the Greeks of Shakespeare are human beings, and the Greeks of Racine mere names, mere words printed in capitals at the head of paragraphs of declamation." An acute piece of literary criticism and one that applies, in all essentials, to the work of Charles Dickens. His characters are never "mere names." They are always human beings like ourselves: no mere figments of literary imagination but living creatures whose actions are swayed by motives that we can understand and appreciate, and whose fortunes we can follow with a personal and spontaneous interest. Take which of his characters you will—the grim, the smiling, the frankly farcical, the rogues, the virtuous or the neutral. They all make a like appeal to us. Reluctantly or otherwise, we are driven, as the narrative proceeds, to identify ourselves more and more closely with their successes and failures, their trials, achievements and disappointments. How should we have acted in such circumstances? That question suggests itself at every turn, with a pressure that refuses to be evaded, whatever book we open, to whatever episode or individual we turn our attention. David Copperfield in the riverside warehouse; Oliver Twist in the thieves' den; the stealthy machinations of Mr. Pecksniff in his Wiltshire village; or the sublime self-sacrifice of Sidney Carton at the foot of the guillotine. No matter what the scene. It is the same everywhere; we find ourselves no mere detached observers from the stalls but active participants in the business on the stage. Dickens had this supreme gift. He was unalterably human; and because he was human, he is immortal.

Therein lies the essential justification of the Dickens Fellowship and all its activities: the inner core of a fabric which, in the course of half a century, has necessarily acquired new facets and has borne on its surface the reflections of many transient fancies

and shifting tastes. Fundamentally, there has been no change. The Fellowship stands to-day for what it stood fifty years ago. Its objects remain the same: not merely to cherish the memory of a beloved writer, but to present to the world—in no garish limelight but in the sober glow of established fame—every aspect of an immortal figure, a figure so bound up with our national heritage that its neglect or oblivion would leave English life and letters immeasurably the poorer. There could, as every Dickensian will agree, be no worthier object to pursue. The success achieved in its pursuit over so long a period serves only as an incentive to further effort. It behoves the Fellowship, in this Jubilee year, not only to claim credit (as it justly may) for past achievement but to face with confidence and resolution the tasks that lie before it in the future.

THE DICKENS FELLOWSHIP JUBILEE

or, 'Tis Fifty Years Since

By T. W. Hill

THE Golden Jubilee of the Dickens Fellowship seems to afford an opportunity for one who has at various times spent a good deal of time in the midst of the Arena of its Activities to sit back among the spectators and allow his mind to wander in a desultory fashion over the forty-nine years since he joined the band of enthusiasts. Not that I am going to recapitulate the history of the Fellowship; that can be read in the pages of *The Dickensian*.

If there is a divinity that shapes our ends, it seems to me that, without any references to mystical, mythical or occult matters beyond our ken, there must be some significance in the fact that the Dickens Fellowship was born with the present century. With the opening of 1901 the Victorian Era with its great renaissance in all kinds of knowledge, scientific, industrial and literary, had closed and the new century was inspired by rosy hopes of continued improvement and progress, looking forward to a future of enlightened education and the spread of the love of humanity and cultured prosperity. Charles Dickens, the personification of Victorian England had been dead for thirty years, but contrary to what often happens when an outstanding character of great personal influence is removed, his death had not been followed by an interval of comparative neglect; his books had been frequently reprinted and eagerly purchased, and read, during the last years of the nineteenth century, and the reports of the public libraries shewed that the number of people reading Dickens was still greater than that of any other author, and was continually increasing. The same thirty years also shewed that the work of men like Kitton, Proctor, Canning, Ward, Marzials, Langton, Rideal, Shepherd, Pemberton, to name only a few, was keeping alive popular interest in Dickens and his writings, whether from a literary, a biographical, a topographical, an educational, or a sociological point of view.

The ground had therefore been well prepared when in 1902 the formation of a Dickens Fellowship was proposed. And, very fortunate it was that at the same time Chapman and Hall, Dickens's copyright publishers, should have had as their London representative Bertram W. Matz, for, of the little band of enthusiasts who founded the Fellowship, Matz with his love of Dickens, his literary experience, his coöl judgment, and his wide vision, saw at once that the new society must have a policy and a mission. Over four thousand lovers of Dickens had joined the newly-formed Fellowship in the first year, but the majority were interested mainly in the entertainment value of his delightful books, for his delineations of character, and the special flavour of humour with which the scenes were depicted. But mere blind worship of Dickens as "the master of humour and pathos" would not be sufficient to hold together any society however enthusiastic its members. That kind of Dickens-love was already being catered for by the publication of little booklets of "Gems from Dickens," "Beauties of Dickens," "Dramatic scenes from Dickens," birthday books, autograph albums, and short quotations in calendars. Matz soon got the Council to see that, if the Fellowship was to be of any value and influence, it must inculcate and foster more serious work, such as discriminating and informed criticism and comment on Dickens's writings and message, his life, his attacks on social evils and inequalities. So the "Aims and Objects" for which the Fellowship was to work included not only a bond of friendship among Dickens-lovers, but also, in its widest sense, the spread of the love of humanity which is the keynote of all his work and implies a close study of his books and speeches.

A subtle change in the quality of the membership gradually became manifest; instead of a mental attitude implying "What can the Fellowship do to help and amuse me?" the feeling began to change to "What can *I* do to help forward the noble ambitions of the Fellowship?" In other words, a change from discipleship to apostleship. From the delights and enjoyment of close social intercourse with others of similar tastes arose a desire for close co-operation in an effort to contribute to the usefulness of the new society. And this desire led however indirectly to the establishment of *The Dickensian* in 1905, unique among magazines devoted exclusively to the memory and work of one author. I do not know of any other instance of a literary periodical of a similar nature that has lasted so many years with apparently an unlimited future before it, or of one which has never paid a fee of any sort for a single contribution. Professors of literature, eminent scholars and critics, public speakers and orators, research students—all have been willing and generous in giving freely the results of their labours, results often of great literary value and interest, for publication in the columns of *The Dickensian*, and no Dickensian subject or puzzle is too obscure or too difficult to receive attention from an expert, and no magazine has maintained for so long so uniformly high a standard of excellence.

In addition to its own contribution to the literature on Dickens, the Fellowship has witnessed the increase during recent years in

the number of books in England and America on Dickens and his work and his place in English literature, much of it due to the growing influence of the Fellowship, which has also been felt in the cinema and in broadcasting.

Having already mentioned the change among the ordinary members from discipleship to apostleship, I dream of a goodly number who *began* with apostleship and whose names will always be remembered with admiration in the story of our society. All without exception gave of their best, devoted service often at great personal sacrifice and often with material and substantial help to the subject of their devotion. Many of this "glorious company of the Apostles" have passed away and become ghosts and a few are only wraiths, but a very few survive to this day. I could call spirits from the vasty deep of my memory and as they pass in procession before my mental vision I recall very distinctly Matz, Ley, Dexter, Kitton, Green, Rust, Fisher, Waugh, Chesterton, FitzGerald, Crotch, Humphreys, Cuming Walters, and wish I had space to name them all. Ah, me! How they all worked; there were of course domestic squabbles, sometimes rather noisy, over such small details as minutiae of administration or application of rules; but these were only ripples on the fair surface of the close and affectionate friendships that were never dimmed and remained steadfast, each for all and all for each; indeed the friendships have been cemented the more tightly by the devotion to the common purpose, and have been extended, as they are at the present day, to colleagues and collaborators in other lands beyond the seas.

What is the nature of the link that binds, as it always has bound, us all together? As I see it from a spectator's seat, it seems to me that it is best expressed by "Now abideth Faith, Hope, and Love; and the greatest of these is Love." This great third quality must be inspired by the other two, and this is reflected in the efforts of our pioneers. Their Faith was founded on Dickens's essential greatness and in the endurance of his fame as a teacher; their Hope, by means of the Fellowship, has been to "spread the love of humanity which is the key-note of all his work." Their devotion to Dickens connoted constant communal study of all his writings in fiction and journalism, and led our pioneers from the earliest days to embark on charitable works, as witness the formation of the Charitable Guild, pensions, coals and comforts for the indigent and the aged, a Convalescent Home Fund that was merged into the provision of an endowed Cot at Treloar's Home for Cripples, Dickens's Books for the Blind (no small undertaking as each volume cost about £10 and some of Dickens's long novels occupy 12 or 14 volumes), the St. Leonard's Home for Soldiers and Sailors blinded during the First World War, numberless Christmas Treats for the Poor, Tiny Tim Cots at hospitals, a work in which the Branches all over the world have borne a noble part, comforts, books, and luxuries for our fighting forces during two long and devastating wars. All these undertakings have endeared the Fellowship to the English-speaking world and have elicited the sympathies of foreign lands.

The Dickens Fellowship's devotion to its original aims, both

in the literary and in social life has always attracted the sympathies and often the active assistance of distinguished scholars and public men, and the annual celebration of the anniversaries of Dickens's birth on February 7th and his death on June 9th has induced some of our most prominent orators and public speakers to pay tribute to his memory on those occasions, and some of our most eloquent preachers have from the pulpit born witness to the influence of Dickens on our national and religious life.

In recent years literary students in two continents have been busy delving into the by-ways among English authors of the nineteenth century and of course Dickens has been one of the objects of their research. Perhaps because of the success of the Fellowship and the general love that everyone has for Dickens, some of these enquirers have drawn bows at a venture to try to smite our beloved Dickens between the joints of his harness, but, again I hope and like to think, because of the loyalty of the members of the Fellowship, such attacks have mostly miscarried, and Dickens's pre-eminence remains unimpaired and his message is an potent as ever, and will so continue while the Dickens Fellowship endures.

We have indeed been always a very happy band, and while this spirit imbues us, our future is secure. For I feel that there is still very much to do.

While our past has been the subject of these random meditations, it is impressed on my mind that as we have a permanent memorial of our 1927 Silver Jubilee in the opening of the Dickens House in 1925 (it was acquired in our coming-of-age years, 1922-23), we should aim at celebrating our Golden Jubilee this year by completing the Fund for which the Fellowship has been working during the past seven years, to give the House a permanent Endowment. It only wants a final supreme effort.

Whether that dream is realised or not, the Golden Jubilee is a real celebration and marks an historical occasion. But it must not be complacently regarded as a goal. It is only a landmark, a milestone; a milestone on which has been inscribed the distance that the Dickens Fellowship has travelled. It is for the present and coming generations to engrave on the forward face of our milestone whither we hope to go. There is every inducement to inspire us to greater things and new efforts to attain a glorious future.

The Story of the Fellowship's First Fifty Years was told in *The Dickensian* as follows:

Part 1 by Walter Dexter, 1944, pp. 25, 97, 127.
Part 2 by A. W. Edwards, 1951, pp. 22, 90.
Part 3 by John Greaves, 1952, pp. 25, 74.

SHAVINGS FROM DICKENS'S WORKSHOP

Unpublished fragments of the novels.

IN the collection of autograph and printed material associated with Dickens that his friend and biographer, John Forster, bequeathed to the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, there is a multitude of things of paramount interest to the student, but it is sometimes assumed that it has now no further secrets to impart. It may therefore surprise many that this library is now to yield passages about some of those characters who have been our companions for so long, and about whom we had imagined we had read everything that Dickens had to tell us.

The absorbing studies of Professor John Butt, both in these pages and elsewhere, on Dickens's method of writing and the effect upon it of the serial mode of publication, have several times made mention of the passages in the novels which had to be written up or shorn away, when Dickens had under-written or over-written a monthly number.

We therefore now embark upon the presentation of the cancelled passages, in the first instance from *David Copperfield*, published for the first time, we believe, from the original proofs corrected in Dickens's own hand, and occasionally that of Forster. Those from other novels will follow in subsequent issues of *The Dickensian*. Acknowledgements are due to the authorities of the Victoria and Albert Museum for permission to publish.

EDITOR.

MR. CREAKLE

[At the midnight feast in the dormitory at Salem House, David hears something about the headmaster who had made so deep an impression upon him. Ch. VI.]

I heard that Mr. Creakle, on account of certain religious opinions he held, was one of the elect and chosen—terms which certainly none of us understood in the least then, if any understood them now—and that the man with the wooden leg was another. I heard that the man with the wooden leg had preached (Traddles's father, according to Traddles, had positively heard him) and had frightened women into fits by raving about a Pit he said he saw, with I don't know how many thousands of billions and trillions of pretty babies born for no other purpose than to be cast into it. I heard that Mr. Creakle's son doubted the clear-sightedness of the man with the wooden leg, and had once held some remonstrance with his father about the discipline of the school on an occasion of its being very cruelly exercised, and was supposed to have objected besides, that the elect had no business to ill-use his mother. I heard that Mr. Creakle turned him out of doors in consequence, and that it had nearly broken Mrs. and Miss Creakle's hearts.

PEGGOTTY

[David wakes on the morning of the day on which they are to bury his mother. Ch. IX.]

When the day came, I remember being awakened in the morning by the sharp strokes of a spade, and that I looked out of the

window, and saw men working in the churchyard, underneath the tree, and went to bed and wept. I remember that I lay there sobbing, until Peggotty came up to help me dress myself, and that being in her black dress for the first time, she wrung her hands—a thing it turned my very blood to see her do—and gave way to her sorrow before me, for the only time in all my knowledge.

The Eldest Miss Larkins

[The youthful David falls in love again. Ch. XVIII.]

If the eldest Miss Larkins would drive a triumphal car down the High Street, and allow me to throw myself under the wheels as an offering to her beauty, I should be proud to be trampled under her horses feet.

I think continously about my age. Say I am seventeen, and say that seventeen is young for the eldest Miss Larkins, what of that? It would be nothing to the inequality of such a match as Dr. Strong's for instance. Besides I shall be one-and-twenty in no time almost. Two other points of reflection divide the empire of my mind with this. First, is the eldest Miss Larkins aware of my attachment? Secondly, what does she think of it, if she be aware of it? Sometimes I am persuaded she must be aware of it on account of my agitation and the expression of my face when I meet her; then I look in the glass, and getting up that expression as nearly as I can, doubt it, and suspect it may not reveal what I mean. The state of her mind torments me next. Whether she despises me, or laughs at me, or flirts with me, or is dying for me (she don't look like it, but she may be doing it secretly), and cannot tell me so, because I cannot tell her what I feel myself.

Mr. Wickfield

[David, leaving school at Canterbury, takes leave of Mr. Wickfield and Agnes. Ch. XIX.]

He was in good spirits and looked well, and we dined together cheerfully. He talked of the time that had glided away since I first dined with him, and the change that had stolen imperceptibly upon myself and Agnes. He sometimes felt that he was changed too, he said, and not for the better, as we were, but let that pass—and he drank his wine. He talked of Uriah Heep, and of the flight of years over *his* red head (though the mention of its colour is mine as I write), and spoke of Uriah's time being out within a week or two, and of its seeming to have begun but yesterday.

I took that occasion to thank Mr. Wickfield for all the friendship and protection I had received at his hands—not very eloquently; I felt too much for that; but very heartily. He made light of it in the same spirit, and said, with a melancholy kind of smile, which always became him well, that his great hope in life had been to see his daughter grow up at his side to what she now was, and yet that he could be well content to live the last five years of his life again. Then Agnes and I fell to recalling a number of little incidents which had happened in the course of those five years, and appealing to his recollection about them; and I was glad to

see that he was carried away from his wine by the current of our talk, and for the time forgot it.

Mrs. Gummidge and Steerforth

[Steerforth accompanies David to Yarmouth and makes the acquaintance of Dan'l Peggotty's household. Ch. XXI.]

Mrs. Gummidge as usual, was taken poorly in her spirits when we showed a disposition to be merry, and was as usual adjured by Mr. Peggotty to cheer up.

"No, Dan'l," said Mrs. Gummidge, shaking her head, "I gets worse and worse. I had far better go into the House tomorrow afore breakfast."

"No, no," cried Steerforth, "don't say so! What's the matter?"

"You don't know me, sir" said the doleful Gummidge, "or you would'nt ask."

"The loss is mine," said Steerforth coaxingly, "but let us know each other better. What's the matter?"

Mrs. Gummidge shed tears, and stated her unfortunate condition in the usual terms. "I'm a lone lorn creetur', and everythink goes contrairy with me!"

"No!" cried Steerforth "why, we must be designed by Heaven for one another. I'm a lone lorn creature myself, and everything has gone contrary with me from my cradle. Mr. Peggotty, will you change places, and allow me to sit next her?"

The immediate effect of this on Mrs. Gummidge was to make her laugh, "*You* lone and lorn!" cried Mrs. Gummidge, peevishly, "Yes! Your looks is like it!"

"They are as like it as yours are," said Steerforth, taking his seat beside her.

"Indeed!" said Mrs. Gummidge, with another laugh.

"Ay, indeed!" cried Steerforth. "Come! Let us be lone and lorn together. Everything shall go contrary with us both, and we'll go contrary with all the world."

It was in vain for Mrs. Gummidge to resist this league, or to try to push him away. He sat there all the rest of the evening; and whenever Mrs. Gummidge began to shake her head, repeated his proposal. The consequence was that Mrs. Gummidge was continually laughing and pushing him, and had so little leisure for being miserable that she said next day she thought she must have been bewitched.

Littimer

[We meet the gentleman's gentleman. Ch. XXI].

He was very often by, for his attention to Steerforth, at all times, was most remarkable. Without obtruding it, or watching him, he seemed to have the power of divining his wants, and supplying them at the very moment when it was agreeable to him that they should be supplied. He never showed the least sense of there being anything meritorious in this: neither did his master.

Steerforth on proctors

[David, considering a profession, hears Steerforth's opinion of that of a proctor. Ch. XXIII].

"I confess I think it's in the main a question of gammon and spinach as my friend Miss Mowcher would say," he returned. "A proctor is a gentlemanly sort of fellow. I don't see any objection to your being a proctor. You shall take out my marriage-license in case I ever want one, if that is any inducement, and you shall separate my wife and me afterwards, and you shall prove my will, if you live long enough."

Agnes and Steerforth

[David visits Agnes at Ely Place on the day after his dissipated night at the theatre. Ch. XXV].

"What is my bad angel?"

"Say who," she mildly replied.

"Who, then?"

"You know my meaning," answered Agnes, and I felt the proof was in my flushed and heated face. "I need not say any more."

"Did you know him the other night, Agnes?"

"Yes, I heard them call him by his name."

"Does he not look intelligent, gallant, high spirited?"

"Yes."

"A gentleman, and a manly handsome fellow?"

"Yes."

"And do you think it natural, or not, that I should trust in him, and be attached to him, and fond of him?"

"Natural, perhaps" said Agnes, "but not wise. No, Trotwood," raising her eyes to mine, and looking full upon me while she spoke, "not wise. It may be only too natural, but it is not wise, and not hopeful."

Uriah

[David invites Uriah to take coffee at his rooms after Mr. Waterbrook's dinner-party. Ch. XXV].

"If one so umble might aspire to be her husband, Master Copperfield," exclaimed Uriah, with a general twist of himself, arms, legs, chin, and all.

May I die, but I felt, in my keen desire to lay hold of him by the wind-pipe, and give him a shake, as if he had got hold of mine, and was shaking me!

"And I hope you'll not think it inconsistent my saying that though I'm umble indeed, I *do* aspire to that!" he added, with a sidelong look.

Mrs. Strong

[David visits Dr. Strong at his cottage at Highgate. Ch. XXXVI].

She looked very youthful, and extremely beautiful, and received me with great kindness, though I thought with some uneasiness. But I was uneasy myself in the old suspicious feeling which the sight of her revived within me, and I don't know how much of the constraint between us may have been on my side.

MR. BLACKMORE ENGAGES AN OFFICE BOY

By William J. Carlton

BEGINNING with Forster, nearly all Dickens's biographers have stressed the significance of the eighteen months spent by the lad, at a critical turning-point of his career, in a London solicitors' office. The source of Forster's information on the subject (and apparently the only one) was a letter written by Dickens's quondam employer, Edward Blackmore, to the *Hampshire Chronicle* on 15th June, 1870, and printed in that newspaper three days later. The substantial accuracy of the statements made in the letter is beyond question, but it was obviously written

Edward Blackmore

by courtesy of Mr. G. E. R. Shield, Alresford, from a photograph in his possession.

on the spur of the moment, a few days after the solicitor had seen the announcement of the novelist's death and some forty-two years after the events to which it related. Within a month of penning his letter, Blackmore committed to paper some more extended "Reminiscences of Charles Dickens," amplifying certain details and correcting others as the result of maturer reflection. This was done at the instigation of John Camden Hotten, the enterprising publisher of *Charles Dickens, the Story of his Life* (1870). Like Forster, Hotten had seen Blackmore's letter in the *Hampshire Chronicle* and wished to include further information in a subsequent edition of the book which he did not live to publish.

Blackmore's reminiscences did not see the light until ten years after the writer's death. Having obtained the loan of the document from Blackmore's son and successor, F. G. Kitton printed it in

Part IX of *Charles Dickens by Pen and Pencil*, accompanied by some interesting recollections of Dickens by one of his fellow clerks. Through the courtesy of Mr. Philip E. Blackmore, the solicitor's grandson, I have had the privilege of examining the original MS., signed by Blackmore and dated July 1870, with other family papers. On the basis of these and independent researches I have attempted to reconstitute one of the most important episodes of the novelist's adolescence.

When Dickens left Wellington House Academy early in 1827, his parents had just been evicted from 29 Johnson Street, Somers Town, for non-payment of the rates, and were living in lodgings at the Polygon, Clarendon Square. Demolished early in the present century, the Polygon was a kind of inverted circus, consisting of detached blocks of houses facing outwards and having courts or gardens running to the centre. (It was here that Harold Skimpole lived with his wife and daughters in a dilapidated house.) A mile or so to the south, at 16 Berners Street, Oxford Street, was a boarding house kept by Elizabeth Charlton (*née* Culliford), the wife of Charles William Charlton, a clerk in the Prerogative Office at Doctors' Commons. She was a sister of Dickens's maternal grandmother, Mary Barrow. Accompanied by her children, Mrs. Dickens was a frequent visitor to her aunt's house and there made the acquaintance of one of the boarders, Edward Blackmore, a bachelor of 28. The son of William Bennett Blackmore, a Salisbury woollen draper, Blackmore was born in that city on 10th May, 1799, and had served five years as articled clerk to a local attorney, John Hodding, before being himself admitted a solicitor in 1821. He had been since 1823 the junior partner in the firm of Ellis & Blackmore, solicitors, at 1 Holborn Court, Gray's Inn.

Charles had just passed his fifteenth birthday when his mother, keenly conscious of the parlous state of the family finances, begged the young solicitor to find employment for the boy in his office. Dickens's manners were so prepossessing that Blackmore agreed to take the clever and good-looking lad as a clerk, and in May, 1827, he entered upon his duties in Holborn Court (afterwards re-named South Square). The office was on the ground floor of No. 1, the first building on the corner on the right as one turned out of the narrow gateway from Holborn. "It was a poor old set of chambers of three rooms, the front overlooking the Court, a room at the back, and the clerks' office, which was shut off from the passage by a glass partition." Such is the description given by George Lear, who had been articled just two years before to the senior partner, Edward Ellis.

On his very first day at the office young Dickens came to grief. He presented himself wearing a blue jacket and a military-looking cap with a strap under the chin*, which he carried rather jauntily on the side of the head, and his first errand was to take some papers to a stationer's in Chancery Lane. Crossing the Lane from the gateway of Lincoln's Inn, he was accosted by a big bully who chucked him under the chin and knocked his cap off, saying,

* Writing to a friend of his boyhood in 1849, Dickens described his dress at this time as "a Russian jacket and a soldierly young cap" (*Dickensian*, Vol. XXXI, p. 191).

"Hullo, my fine soldier!" The high-spirited youngster resented this indignity and struck out at his interlocutor, with the result that he returned home that day with a black eye.

The firm of Ellis & Blackmore acted as agents for certain provincial solicitors at Bath, Chichester and elsewhere, and their business entailed many visits to the various public offices. We are told that young Dickens soon became handy at this work, and some of the old clerks who presided over the business in them, both Chancery and Common Law, became the butt of his imitations and descriptions. The *Law List* of the period enumerates about 150 of these "public offices," among them the Alienation Office, the Affidavit Office, the Clerk of the Escheats, the Dispensation Office, the Filazer's, Exigenter's and Clerk of the Outlawry's Office, the Hanaper Office, the Enrolment Office, the Pell Office, the Prothonotaries' Office, the Six-Clerks Office and the Sixpenny Receivers Office. No wonder that Dickens found in these places, redolent of stuffy officialdom, material for his mirth-loving disposition.

The clerks took it in turns to keep the petty cash books of the office, one of which, now the treasured possession of the Harry Elkins Widener Library at Harvard University, is in Dickens's handwriting from 5th January to 16th March, 1828.* The first page bears the autograph signature "Charles Dickens." On 15th May, 1827 is the entry: "Oath of Charles Dickens—1*s*." Yet another entry reads "Dickens, Coachhire to get will registered 2 shillings," while others show that his salary was at first 10*s*. 6*d*., afterwards 13*s*. 6*d*. (Forster gives this as the starting salary), and finally, during the last three months, 15*s*. a week.

Nearly a decade was to elapse before the author of *Pickwick* penned his oft-quoted description of the hierarchy of lawyers' clerks in the 30th chapter of that classic, and in 1870 Blackmore wrote: "I can distinctly identify them with the clerks we then had, two of whom are now living." One of these two recognised himself as "the Articled Clerk, who has paid a premium, and is an attorney in perspective, who runs a tailor's bill, receives invitations to parties, knows a family in Gower Street, and another in Tavistock Square; who goes out of town every Long Vacation to see his father, who keeps live horses innumerable; and who is, in short, the very aristocrat of clerks." He was George Lear, the youngest child of Jeremiah Lear of Lyminster Court, near Arundel, Sussex. Born at Batworth Park on 2nd March, 1807, he was thus nearly five years Dickens's senior.

Dickens found a congenial companion in Charles Potter, identified by Lear as "the salaried clerk—out of door, or in door, as the case may be—who devotes the major part of his thirty shillings a week to his personal pleasure and adornment, repairs half-price to the Adelphi Theatre at least three times a week, dissipates majestically at the cider cellars afterwards, and is a dirty caricature of the fashion which expired six months ago." The Cider Cellars in Maiden Lane, Covent Garden, were a favourite rendezvous for lovers of fun, wine and good cheer, much frequented

* In 1887 this volume was sold by Blackmore to Frank T. Sabin for £15. At the sale of William Wright's Dickensiana at Sotheby's in 1899 it realised £95.

at that time by artists, musicians, singers, actors and other bohemian spirits.

Dickens himself was unquestionably one of "the office lads in their first surtouts, who feel a befitting contempt for boys at day-schools; club, as they go home at night, for saveloys and porter, and think there's nothing like 'life.'"

Lear remembered a little old lady whom he considered to have been the original of Miss Flite. "She was always hovering in or about the Chancery Courts, generally in Court," he wrote. "I understood she was the victim of some prolonged Chancery suit which had turned her head." Another Dickensian character whose prototype the office lad had observed whilst in the service of Ellis & Blackmore is Newman Noggs, in *Nicholas Nickleby*. Blackmore was convinced that he was Newman Knott, a needy and seedy individual who presented himself at the office every week to draw an allowance of seven shillings made by a friend. Formerly a prosperous tenant farmer near Chichester, his expensive tastes had ruined him, and the shifts to which he resorted in an endeavour to anticipate his weekly allowance were a source of great amusement to Dickens.

Blackmore records that his partner, Edward Ellis, a man ten years older than himself, had some of the peculiarities attributed to Mr. Perker, being in particular an inveterate snuff-taker. Blackmore himself was thought by some who knew him to have exhibited some of the traits of Mr. Tulkinghorn—"an oyster of the old school, whom nobody can open. The old gentleman is rusty to look at, but is reputed to have made good thrift out of aristocratic marriage settlements and aristocratic wills, and to be very rich. He is surrounded by a mysterious halo of family confidences, of which he is known to be the silent depository." This description of the family lawyer of Sir Leicester Dedlock was written, be it remembered, in 1851 or 1852, when Blackmore was well past the half century.

Dickens's partiality for the theatre was shared to the full by his fellow-clerk Charles Potter, who often went with him to a penny theatre in Catherine Street, Strand. Blackmore wrote that "they took every opportunity then unknown to me, of going together to a minor theatre, where (I afterwards heard) they not infrequently engaged in parts." This statement, however, Lear corrected, declaring that Dickens never took part in the performances and always persuaded Potter against doing so. When the *Sketches by Boz* appeared, Blackmore at once recognised his one-time clerk thinly disguised as Thomas Potter, in "Making a Night of it." According to Lear, Potter figured also as Alfred Jingle in *Pickwick*. Even at this early period Dickens's knowledge of London was comparable to that which he subsequently credited to Sam Weller. His employer assures us that he could describe the position of every shop in any of the streets of the West End, while George Lear declared that Dickens knew his London "from Bow to Brentford."

Towards the end of 1827 Ellis & Blackmore removed with all their impedimenta from Holborn Court to 1 Raymond Buildings, Gray's Inn, an event in which young Dickens displayed the

liveliest interest.* Here the clerks' office on the second floor overlooked the roadway and they were all delighted with the change. Dickens profited by the opportunity thus afforded him to drop cherry-stones from the window on the hats of passers-by in the street, and some of the indignant victims mounted the stairs to complain. The culprit always advanced to meet them, receiving them with so much gravity and with such an air of innocence that they went away under the impression that they must, after all, have been mistaken.

Another event which must have set the clerks' tongues wagging was the marriage of the junior partner to the sister of the articled clerk. On 14th April, 1828, Edward Blackmore, "of the parish of St. Pancras in the County of Middlesex, bachelor," was married at Lyminster, Sussex, to Mary Lear, spinster, of that parish. George Lear and his brother John were present at the ceremony. There can be little doubt that Blackmore was referring to his wedding when he wrote: "I well remember a convivial occasion when I invited all the clerks to dine with me. Potter was there and guilty of a little excess. He did not come to the office for a couple of days afterwards, and when he came Dickens chaffed him with having taken too much wine, but he insisted that his indisposition did not arise from the wine but 'it was the salmon.' Dickens never forgot this and has immortalised the observation in the 7th chapter of *Pickwick*."

Lear remarked that "during the time young Charley Dickens was in our office an angry or unkind word never passed between us," and Blackmore testified that Dickens was a universal favourite while in his service. "One client in particular," he added," a gentleman in extensive practice in Sussex (since dead), was especially anxious to take him from me. Had I consented it is more than likely the boy's thoughts and pursuits would have been diverted into a different channel and the world would have lost the benefit of his wonderful genius."

Dickens quitted the service of Ellis & Blackmore in November, 1828. Writing more than forty years afterwards, his employer was unable to recall the reason for his leaving but thought it might have been because he disliked the drudgery of the office. Blackmore's new responsibilities as a married man may well have diverted his thoughts from the welfare of a very junior member of his staff, but his surmise was probably correct, for Dickens himself has left on record that he found the life a very dull one.† For some unexplained reason, he transferred his services to another lawyer almost at once. His next employer, with whom he can have remained only a few months, was Charles Molloy, a barrister of New Square, Lincoln's Inn. It has often been assumed that Dickens was with Molloy before going to Ellis & Blackmore, and Forster seems to favour this hypothesis. But, as pointed out in my *Charles Dickens, Shorthand Writer* (1926), Molloy's office was until 1829 at 6 Symonds Inn, Chancery Lane, and speculation as to whether Molloy preceded or followed Blackmore can now be

* In 1927, just 100 years after he entered the office, the desk at which Dickens worked was presented to the Dickens House by Mr. Nelson Ward, of Attree, Johnson & Ward, the successors of Ellis & Blackmore at 1 Raymond Buildings (*Dickensian*, Vol. XXIII. p. 203).

† Letter to Heinrich Künzel, July 1838 (Nonesuch ed., I, p. 168).

set at rest. A note on the passage in Forster's *Life* relating to Molloy, found among Blackmore's papers, reads: "This is a mistake. His first employment after leaving school was in Mr. Blackmore's office, and when he left that he was for a very short time at Mr. Molloy's." Blackmore's authority on this point is indisputable, and his definite assertion must be regarded as settling the matter.

Mr. Philip E. Blackmore informs me that he once possessed some very small coloured drawings in gilt frames, done and signed by Dickens in the solicitors' office, but in the course of a removal some years ago these unique specimens of his artistic talent were unfortunately lost. In this connection it may be recalled that three sketches said to be the work of Dickens were reproduced in the *Strand Magazine* of 1902 (Vol. XXIV, pp. 233-235).

After Dickens had left Blackmore's service he was seen by the solicitor occasionally taking notes of cases in the Lord Chancellor's court. Blackmore remembered seeing him again, in the Green Room of Covent Garden Theatre, when a command performance of *Fra Diavolo* was given on 17th November, 1837. It was the first night that Queen Victoria went in state to the theatre. "He passed me two or three times in the room," wrote Blackmore, "without taking any notice and it appeared to me that he had no wish to recognize me."

About the time of his marriage Blackmore moved to 10 Mabledon Place, St. Pancras, where his eldest daughter Mary was born on 8th September, 1829. One of his three sons was named George Lear Blackmore. For some years he practised alone, his partner Ellis having disappeared from the scene, and by 1833 had transferred his business to 1 Mitre Court Chambers, Mitre Court, Temple. In 1835 he was apparently living at Fulham, and from 1841 to 1846 was in partnership with Bernard Senior at 2 New Inn, Strand, with chambers in Fleet Street. In the latter year he joined the firm of Dunn, Hopkins & Carter, solicitors, at Alresford in Hampshire, which thereupon became Messrs. Dunn, Hopkins, Blackmore & Carter. Later the style was changed to Blackmore & Blackmore, the solicitor having taken into partnership his eldest son Edward, and they carried on the business until shortly before the death of Blackmore senior. The last days of Dickens's employer were spent with his eldest daughter, Mrs. Mary Teasdale, at her home in Torquay, and there he breathed his last on 17th April, 1879, a few weeks before his 80th birthday. He was buried in the family vault at Torquay, his will being proved on 14th May, 1879.

RECENT DICKENSIANA

"Charles Whitehead and Charles Dickens," by K. J. Fielding. *Review of English Studies*, April.

"Skimpole Once More," Stephen F. Fogle. "Dickens and the Daily News Resignation," Gerald G. Grubb. *Nineteenth Century Fiction*, June.

"The MS. of *The Cricket on the Hearth*," by K. J. Fielding. *Notes and Queries*, July 19th.

PERSONAL AND BUSINESS RELATIONS OF CHARLES DICKENS AND THOMAS COKE EVANS

By Gerald G. Grubb,
Wake Forest College, North Carolina.

Continued from page 113.

Part II

Beginning with Wills's letter to Evans of August 13th, 1859, there comes a change in their relationship. First, it is evident that *All the Year Round* is not selling well in America, and as a result of Wills's conversation with Evans on that date concerning the American circulation, Wills agrees to remit the charges for the manufacture of each set of stereotype plates for the remainder of the duration of their year's contract. They discussed the renewal of the agreement, and Wills indicated that terms could not be reached until " we learn what sales the American Edition may reach toward the conclusion of the agreement subsisting." He concludes rather formally:

> If therefore you will transmit to me, at the end of January next, a certified statement of what gross sales (including that of back numbers and monthly parts, and volumes of the work shall have been set up to that time) we will, without delay, settle and put you in possession of the terms upon which we will continue the arrangement for another year.*

In midsummer, 1859, the situation between Evans and the proprietors of *All the Year Round* stood something like this: The original agreement required Evans to pay for the manufacture and transportation of the stereotype plates half-yearly on October 30th, 1859, and April 30th, 1860. As for the privilege of republication, £500 was to be paid one month after Evans's arrival in the United States, and £500 more seven months after such arrival. Now, according to Wills's letter dated April 15th, 1859, Evans must have arrived in New York about the middle of April. The first payment of £500 would have been due and payable about the middle of May. Evans must have taken care of that payment in good order; for on May 19th, Wills wrote: " Your draft of £50, the balance of present accounts between us, I received . . . There will be receivable by us further before the 1st of November, £500 besides the expenses of the stereotype plates." Therefore, the differences between Evans and Wills developed during the long silence in the Office Book between August 13th and October 26th, 1859.

After Dickens's letter to Collins, written on August 16th, in which he tells about declining to enter into an agreement with Evans for a reading tour, the record is silent until October 26th. On that date, and again on October 28th, Dickens wrote short

* A.Y.R. Office Book, Huntington Library: August 13th, 1859.

notes to Wills that have always been looked upon by his editors as referring to Frederick M. Evans, of the Bradbury and Evans publishing firm, and so listed in the index of *The Nonesuch Dickens;* but for two strong reasons, the present writer is certain that they refer to T. C. Evans. First, the dates of the letters agree with the climax of the deal with T. C. Evans, and the contents coincide with the known dissatisfaction with Evans's accounts; and second, it is highly improbable that Frederick M. Evans, apart from his publishing firm, owed Dickens and Wills money as late as the last of October, 1859.

Wills has had a communication from Evans relating to *All the Year Round*, and has relayed the contents of the letter to Dickens who is reading at Birmingham; so, on October 26th, Dickens replies, saying: " The wonderful thing in your letter is, that you don't say whether Evans has paid any money! I take it for granted that he has paid none, but you don't say so."*

Two days later Wills wrote T. C. Evans one of the longest letters in the Office Book; but, unfortunately, it has become so badly smudged, or damaged by a liquid, that it has defied all efforts to read it with any degree of satisfaction. Of this much one can be certain by means of legible words here and there. The time for Evans's second payment for his publication rights has arrived, and he owes Dickens and Wills £589. Wills reviews the manner of Evans's handling of the financial side of the contract. Also, it *seems* that he refers to J. M. Emerson and Company, but too much of the handwriting is destroyed to admit of a positive identification. Later there is a legible reference to " two hundred dollars ($200) " which may have a bearing upon Wills's first letter to J. M. Emerson and Company as will be developed below.

This letter of October 28th, Wills must have left unmailed for Dickens's inspection, for writing from the office of *All the Year Round* on the same date, the latter said, and surely this refers to T. C. Evans, " I have read the letter to Evans (which is as plain as a pike staff), and I have duly given it out to Johnson [office bookkeeper] to be posted with the account."†

At this point J. M. Emerson and Company, to whom Evans had sold his agreement for six months, as Dickens mentioned to Bulwer-Lytton, took over. This publisher's name appears on the title pages and the colophons of all of the volumes of the American Edition of *All the Year Round* that this writer has examined. Wills writing to Messrs. Emerson & Company on October 21st, 1859, says:

> In answer to your letter of 13th Instant, I beg to state that I wrote Mr. Evans by the last mail stating that until we could make arrangements of a nature more satisfactory to ourselves than those you propose, we will abide by your offer until the end of the year.‡

Thus ended the personal and business relationships of Dickens

* *Nonesuch Dickens, Letters*, III, 130.
† *Ibid.*, III, 130.
‡ A.Y.R. Office Book, Huntington Library.

and Thomas Coke Evans,* but many years later Evans turned back and wrote a sketch of Dickens including those incidents which he could twist into a crown of glory for himself.

In 1888, Thomas C. Evans collected a series of journalistic sketches which he had written for newspapers over a period of years and published them under the title *Of Many Men.*† Only two copies of this book are known to the writer; both are in the Library of Harvard University, and both are presentation copies: one to James Russel Lowell, and the other to Thomas Bailey Aldrich. Of the sketches reprinted, Evans says " those relating to Dickens and Bulwer " he had " hoped to recast and elaborate, but opportunity has never served, and they, with the rest, are presented substantially as they were written."‡

The book contains thirty-one character sketches, three descriptive sketches, and twenty-two paragraphs on various men, and included a sketch of Dickens, in which we are chiefly interested, and others of five of his close friends, Bulwer, Carlyle, G. A. Sala, Edmund Yates and Blanchard Jerrold.

The sketch entitled " Charles Dickens," originally written in 1883, is the longest one in the book. Evans opens this by quoting in full the letter of Dickens to Arthur Smith of January 26th, 1859. The circumstances surrounding his meeting Dickens have been related above.§ There follows an account of his association with Dickens that would lead one to think, if he had no other means of knowing the truth, that Evans became a most intimate friend of Dickens, that he enjoyed the novelist's unlimited confidence, and that he lived with the Dickens family at Tavistock House in London and at Gad's Hill, Higham by Rochester, almost continuously from January to August, 1859. He crowds all sorts of incidents into the record, all of which he could have gotten from the first published edition of Dickens's letters and from John Forster's *The Life of Charles Dickens.* He admits that he had read both works. Many of the incidents crowded into that period of seven or eight months did not happen at that time at all, and most of the good stories that Evans projects himself into really happened in the association of Dickens and his well-known friends. He says nothing about his return to America and his long absence from England between April and July, nor does he mention the business of *All the Year Round*, which has been

* Intrinsically, no part of the later history of the publication of *All the Year Round* in America belongs in this article, but there may be some among my readers who would enjoy following the history of the journal a little further until it became well established. On November 25th, 1859, Dickens and Wills agreed to deliver to Sampson Low, agent for Harper and Son, New York City, an advanced copy of *All the Year Round* on Friday of each week before the publication of the number on the next Wednesday, and to cease sending stereotype plates weekly to the United States, but this was understood not to be intended to interfere in any way with the sending of stereotype plates to the United States once each month. For this advanced copy Harper & Son agreed to pay £250 a year (A.Y.R. Office Book, Huntington Library). On December 6th, 1859, Dickens and Wills agreed to furnish J. M. Emerson & Company, 37 Park Row, New York City, one set every month of the stereotype plates of *All the Year Round* in advance of the last number in each month, guaranteeing that the agreement with Harper & Son would not in any way interfere with Messrs. Emerson's mode of publication. For the privilege of monthly publication in America, Messrs. Emerson & Company paid the sum of $200 per month (A.Y.R. Office Book, Huntington Library: December 6th, 1859, December 22nd, 1859, January 10th, 1860, and *passim*). Judging by the prices these experienced companies paid Dickens and Wills for the privilege of publishing *All the Year Round* in America, a total of approximately $3,050, T. C. Evans undertook to pay, in the words of Benjamin Franklin, " too much for his whistle."

† (New York: The American New Company.)

‡ " Preliminary Word," dated June, 1888.

§ *Ante*, p. III.

developed above. The whole sketch impresses one as an effort of an obscure journalist to crown himself with Dickens's reflected glory, to stretch a few interviews and a dinner engagement or two into a notable friendship of considerable duration.

It seems that Evans submitted a fragment of a novel for Dickens's consideration. Of course, in keeping with his practice, Dickens had it set up in type and read it carefully, just as he did hundreds of other manuscripts; and just as he almost always did when pleased by a young man's literary efforts, Dickens wrote Evans an encouraging note, dated from Gad's Hill, August 16th, 1859. As far as I can find, this note has never been published until now, except by Evans:

> Dear Sir: I return you herewith the proofs of the opening of your story.
>
> I think the story evinces a great deal of promise and a great deal of power. If I may venture to take the liberty of offering you two pieces of advice, they are these:
>
> 1. Never to be afraid of being pathetic when any tenderness naturally arises in you out of that situation, and never to regard it a kind of weakness that needs to be jested away or otherwise atoned for.
>
> 2. Not too pettingly and perseveringly to urge to the utmost any humorous little extravagance. I think the dog should not open his mouth so very wide as to show the whole of his internal mechanism, and the same kind of objection strikes me in reference to the spelling of some of the noises made, both by men and beasts.
>
> These are slight remarks, and they in no way affect my honest opinion that you begin exceedingly well—with force, with interest, and with character.*

There are no references in Evans's book to his former relation to the American Edition of *All the Year Round*, although he alludes to that Journal in five or six passages. There is something strange in this omission, some reason why he wishes to evade this topic; for his agreement to republish Dickens's magazine was his strongest tie to the novelist whose glory he tried to share. The truth is, this sketch, and possibly all of the others, was a deliberate pot-boiler by a man who was, perhaps, in desperate straits for money.

Finally, the erroneous statements listed below, mostly related to the period of Evans's visits to England, will be found sufficient, the writer believes, to demonstrate the untrustworthiness of Evans's sketch of Dickens. He tells some incredible tales about the pursuits of Dickens himself. For instance, he avers that the novelist once made a journey to Holland to verify the truth of a story (p. 28), he twice credits Dickens with being the first editor of *Once a Week*. He states that Mary (Mamie) was Charles Dickens's eldest child (p. 15); he claims that Dickens's eldest son, whom he never names, was "living in chambers" (p. 15) in the city of London, when, in truth, he was living with his mother and he says that Dickens's younger sons, he is not sure about their names, number, or ages, were in school in Germany (p. 15).

* *Of Many Men*, p. 40.

Evans's statements about Dickens's literary pursuits in the first half of 1859, are extremely misleading. As an example, he prints a letter which he claims he wrote to James Russell Lowell, but never posted, from Gad's Hill Place, on Dickens's private stationery. Under the letter head he wrote " (No date; Sometime in Midsummer, 1859) " (pp.28-30, footnote). He tells Lowell that he and Dickens arose at 5-00 a.m. in order to reach London early, adding: " He is now engaged on a new work not yet named [it was ' The Tale of Two Cities ' hurriedly christened that morning in the office of *All the Year Round,* Strand, before the first instalment of copy was sent away to the printer], of which he had read me some portions . . . I am to bring on the advanced plates on my return in a few weeks, and the first copy is to be given to the printer to-day " (p. 39, footnote). The square brackets are Evans's. Actually Dickens had settled the title announced on March 11th, 1859,* and the first instalment had appeared in the first issue of *All the Year Round* on April 30th, 1859. The stereo plates were sent by Wills to Evans, in care of Adams Express Company, New York City, early enough to be published in America almost simultaneously.

Of course, the crowning falsehood comes on the last page (p. 41). Evans claims that he magnanimously released Dickens from a conditional agreement to do a reading tour of the United States; whereas Dickens wrote Wilkie Collins on August 16th, 1859, that he resisted, with the aid of his solicitor, all of Evans's persuasions, and that Evans went away emptyhanded.†

To sum up, Thomas Coke Evans, American adventurer, journalist, and unaccredited promoter and literary agent, conceived the idea in 1858, of going to London to pursuade Charles Dickens to come to America on a reading tour. He secured letters from representative citizens who thought that most Americans had forgotten their anger over *American Notes* and *Martin Chuzzlewit,* and as an introduction to Dickens, Evans carried letters from three of the former's American friends.

After entertaining Evans's proposal for several weeks, Dickens, as I have shown, declined to sign a conditional agreement to visit the United States.

In the meanwhile, Dickens and Wills entered into an agreement giving Evans sole right to republish *All the Year Round* in America, and furnishing him advance stereotype plates, for the consideration of £1,000 for one year. Returning to America in April, 1859, Evans sold his agreement to J. M. Emerson and Company for six months. By the end of that period, relations between Evans and the proprietors of *All the Year Round* had so deteriorated that they did not choose to go on; then J. M. Emerson and Company secured an agreement for the publication of the journal in the United States.

Twenty-nine years after his association with Dickens, Evans published *Of Many Men,* devoting his longest sketch to Charles Dickens. It is an amazingly untrustworthy account, designed, apparently, for the glorification of the writer rather than of the subject.

* F. G. Kitton, *The Novels of Charles Dickens,* pp. 171-174.
† *Ante.*

As for Thomas Coke Evans himself, by all accounts he was unusually handsome, even as an old man, gifted with charm and an old-world, baronial manner, possessed of a mind that was quick and very active, and with an optimism, at least in his young days, that often led him into speculations that did not come off, and into extravagant promises that he could not fulfil. He seems to have walked on the edge of success, but was never able to tread safely there or find a path that led into the green pastures. He seems to have been one of those middle-ground personalities who are doomed by nature to failure in both extremes of the social scale, having too much intellect and artistic sensibility to endure the rough, raw, fleshy elements of the frontier, but at the same time having a tragic flaw that disqualifies him on the threshold of his every would-be success in the upper scale. Proud, vain, and desperately poor, Evans, no doubt, was driven by sheer want to writing about his associations, however brief and transitory, with the great and near-great; and his experience had taught him that a little romantization of his own part in those incidents would add a few much-needed dollars to his pockets. Hence, his efforts to fit Dickens's laurels upon his own brow. Perhaps, he is more to be pitied than to be scorned or condemned.

FOR THE DICKENSIAN'S BOOKSHELF

By T. W. Hill

I

D'Orsay, Dickens, and Gore House

MR. WILLARD CONNELLY has given us in his satisfying biography* of the Dandy of Dandies, practically all that can be discovered about a fascinating man who in his time had his name on everybody's lips and who left behind him a reputation that has become a legend. The book is much more than a life of Count D'Orsay; it is also an exhaustive life of the "gorgeous" Countess of Blessington, as well as a vivid picture of one aspect of the social life of London and Paris for half a century. Mr. Connelly has used to the very best advantage a facile pen and an extraordinary knowledge of the period covered; whilst his presentation of the subject is most attractive, the portion that may be of outstanding interest to Dickensians will doubtless be that devoted to Gore House.

Gore House; what visions arise at the very mention of the words. Visions of elaborately gorgeous saloons, tasteful decorations—perhaps a little baroque—designed by D'Orsay, expensive and luxurious carpets and curtains, scintillations from gold, silver and rare porcelain, with statuary, bronzes and pictures, and all brilliantly lit by crystal glass chandeliers; the mansion surrounded by gardens resembling a horticultural paradise, and the whole secluded from the Kensington Road by a high brick wall in which were two impervious wooden gates for carriages.

* "Count D'Orsay, the Dandy of Dandies," by Willard Connelly. Cassell & Co.. 25*s*.

The receptions at Gore House were a final realisation of the kind of Continental Salon that the Countess and D'Orsay had established in Paris, and continued when they came in 1830 to London and settled at 8 Seamore Place in rivalry to Lady Holland's salon at Holland House; but that was closed on Lord Holland's death in 1840 and thereafter Gore House became a social centre.

It was in 1837 that Forster who had known Lady Blessington for some time, introduced Dickens to the delights of Gore House. He had met the young Dickens at Harrison Ainsworth's parties at which D'Orsay was also an occasional visitor. And Dickens in spite of the fact that he was much junior to D'Orsay and to Lady Blessington soon became on intimate terms with them as he mixed with the representatives of literature, public life and every learned pursuit. His love of colour, finery in his clothes, found an outlet when he, with other dandies like Ainsworth, Bulwer and Disraeli were all emulating D'Orsay the exquisite. At one of the dinners Carlyle described him as " dressed *à la* D'Orsay rather than well," and other frequenters that he met included Landor, Chorley, Bulwer, Brougham, Moore, Landseer, Macready, Maclise, to name only a few. He was the " invaluable ally of Gore House," and when he paid his first visit to Italy in 1844 " the departure of the Emperor (Nicholas) of Russia left Gore House less tearful than the departure of the King of Fiction," and his absence abroad made the Gore House winter " bleak." On his arrival for a few days to read *The Chimes* at Forster's chambers he managed to squeeze in a morning at Gore House before going to Lincoln's Inn Fields, and when he finally came home in July, 1845, he went almost straight to Gore House in order to get D'Orsay's influence to find the Brave Courier Roche a job in England as Roche's health was not good enough for him to continue the exacting duties of courier. In 1841 Dickens sat for his portrait to D'Orsay before his first visit to America and after his return he took Longfellow (who had come to England for a cure for rheumatism) to dinner at Gore House and a little later sat again to D'Orsay who inscribed the new drawing " the best of the two." It is impossible to quote all Mr. Connely's evidence of Dickens's intimacy with Lady Blessington and D'Orsay, but one instance stands out. During 1842 to 1845 D'Orsay was overwhelmed in debt and owing to the activities of bailiffs dare not go out except after dark or on Sundays, and when he got his release Dickens was included with the select friends Quin, Forster and Lady Blessington who went for a picnic to celebrate his freedom. Dickens also gave his eldest son Charley, a schoolboy of eleven, a special treat by dining at Gore House to sit next to Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte only a week before the Prince embarked for France on the abdication of King Louis Philippe.

Mr. Connelly's pages are filled with the smallest details that may throw light on the personal appearance and characters of the host of distinguished people who, attracted by the boundless hospitality and fabulous dinners, enjoyed the gatherings which were dominated by the count with his commanding figure six foot three, faultlessly dressed, his handsome presence and his perfect

command of English and genial affability. Visitors to Gore House were confined to the male sex; ladies avoided the salons as some suspicion attached to the correctitude of the connexion between Lady Blessington and her son-in-law, suspicions that are largely allayed by Mr. Connelly's investigations; but readers must go to the book for more information and then judge for themselves. What is certain is that Lady Blessington dissipated the whole of her considerable fortune and also literally worked herself to death in the endeavour to create and maintain a suitable background, first at Seamore Place and then at Gore House, for the display of her son-in-law's accomplishments as an artist, a sculptor and a portrait-painter, as well as his gifts as a consummate host.

The inevitable result of their reckless extravagance was of course bankruptcy, and at only a few hours' notice D'Orsay fled the country, followed four days later by the Countess, who died in Paris seven weeks afterwards. They had to leave everything behind including all the products of D'Orsay's skill and among these products were nearly three hundred of his portrait sketches in two portfolios. Mr. Connelly has added much to the value of his book by furnishing in a appendix as complete a catalogue as possible of all the portrait-drawings, other drawings, paintings, and sculpture.

Anyone wanting to know more, and everybody who begins to read Mr. Connelly's fascinating narrative will not wish to miss a single page, must go to the book. To adapt a verse in the Second Book of Kings: "And the rest of the acts of the Count D'Orsay which he did, his ancestry, his triumphs, his prowess in field sports, his political intrigues, his marriage, and his end, are they not written in the Chronicles of "Count D'Orsay, the Dandy of Dandies, by Willard Connelly?"

II

Elizabeth Cleghorn Gaskell

THE first number of *Household Words* has for its first article a story by Mrs. Gaskell who continued to add to its contents and those of its successor *All The Year Round* till almost the end of her life. And therefore Dickensians will be attracted by this extremely detailed account* of a writer of whom a really complete biography has long been wanted. Miss Hopkins has had access to many hitherto untapped sources of information, of which she has made excellent use.

Elizabeth Cleghorn Stevenson was born in London in 1810, but losing her mother while still a mere baby of one year, was brought up by an aunt at Knutsford till she was fourteen and then went to a boarding school at Stratford-on-Avon for four years. She never returned to live at Knutsford, although she immortalised it as Cranford in *Household Words*. When she, at the age of twenty-one, married William Gaskell at Manchester, that city became her home for the rest of her life although the grimy atmosphere agreed with neither her health nor temperament. Hence her love of visits to London where she mixed with the best

* Elizabeth Gaskell, *Her Life and Work*, by A. H. Hopkins. London, John Lehmann, 21s.

literary society, and to the Continent, for which she was able to defray the expense by her earnings as an author. After a few desultory pseudonymous contributions to William Howitt's Journal and other periodicals, written in the few leisure hours afforded to a busy housewife, and a mother of four daughters, she made her real debut with *Mary Barton*, a picture of industrial life in the " Hungry forties," published anonymously by Chapman and Hall on the recommendation of their literary adviser John Forster. The book created something of a furore and its success brought her to London, where she was lionised but not spoilt by people like Sam Rogers, Carlyle, Dickens, Forster, F. D. Maurice.

It seems quite probable that Forster introduced Mrs. Gaskell to Dickens, who invited her to dinner on March 31st, 1849, where she met Rogers, the Macreadys, the Carlyles, and Forster, and she was again among the distinguished company at the Copperfield dinner on May 12th.

A long chapter is devoted to Mrs. Gaskell's connexion with Dickens and his two periodicals, and the troubles that arose from the difficulties of accommodating the requirements of serial weekly instalments to the writing of a long novel. She finally decided to transfer her large-scale stories to another publisher and left Chapman and Hall for Smith, Elder and Co., only sending Dickens short articles and stories at intervals until nearly the end of her life. It was Charlotte Brontë with whom Mrs. Gaskell formed a close friendship, who urged her to make the change.

In 1857 Mrs. Gaskell, at the request and with the approval of Patrick Brontë and the tacit consent of Charlotte's husband, wrote *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, probably her most important work, as whatever the varying fortunes of her fiction may be (and much of it is of course ephemeral), real biography is a permanent contribution to knowledge. The book has an analogy with Forster's *Life of Dickens*. Each book was based upon first-hand information and personal knowledge, each shewed a careful discretion in treating of matters that were best not written about while certain persons were still alive, and as a consequence each book on publication gave rise to criticism and controversy, and yet, in spite of later additions to knowledge, remains the standard reliable work on the respective subjects.

The remainder of Mrs. Gaskell's full life and a balanced consideration of her place in literature, her friendships and social contacts, are very adequately dealt with in Miss Hopkins's book, which should become a standard work of reference.

Mrs. Gaskell died quite suddenly from over-work at the early age of fifty-five in a house at Alton which she had purchased as a present to her husband. She was buried at her favourite Knutsford; her husband was laid in the same grave nineteen years later.

NOTES ON *HARD TIMES*

By T. W Hill

Continued from page 141

Book II, Chapter 2

4. ENGLISH FAMILY, ETC. The family is that of Russell and the "charming Italian motto": "Che sarà sarà." For years before *Hard Times* was written Dickens had known intimately Lord John Russell the great politician. He was a son of the Duke of Bedford, who had the same motto, but was raised to the peerage in his own right as the first Earl Russell in 1861.

5. ACCESSION OF BOREDOM. A quality possessed also by Eugene Wrayburn in *Our Mutual Friend*, with whom Harthouse (an apt satirical name) has much in common. "Indifference was the genuine high-breeding (the only conviction he had)." See Book III, chapter 2.

Chapter 3

1. VERB NEUTER, NOT TO CARE. Elderly readers may recognise this sentence as a part of the old system of teaching grammar, with its other components of parsing, analysis, syntax, accidence, etc. Dickens never forgot his early schooling and several instances similar to this one are scattered through his works. A notable example will be found in Miss Peecher's School in *Our Mutual Friend*, Book II, chapter i. Here is a short extract: "Difference between he says and they say? Give it me." "One is indicative mood, present tense, third person singular, verb active, to say. Other is indicative mood, present tense, third person plural, verb active, to say." "Why verb active?" "Because it takes a pronoun after it in the objective case."

Chapter 4

1. SOLD HIS BIRTHRIGHT. The allusion is of course to Esau the elder twin with Jacob. See Genesis xxv, verses 24-26. Esau despised his birthright (verse 34).

2. JUDAS ISCARIOT. Betrayed his Master for thirty pieces of silver (Matthew xxvi, 15), probably thirty Phoenician tetradrachms worth about £4 16*s.* 0*d.* of our money.

3. CASTLEREAGH. (1769-1822.) A great Statesman, Lord Castlereagh was nevertheless credited by many of the working classes with being the repressor of the Irish Rebellion, and the author of the Peterloo Massacre (1819) and the coercive "Six Acts."

4. ROMAN BRUTUS. Lucius Junius Brutus (not the Marcus Brutus the friend of Julius Caesar). "The great hero in the legends about the expulsion of the Tarquins" (Smith). As one of the First Consuls (509 B.C.) he sentenced to death his two sons for conspiracy.

5. SPARTAN MOTHERS. The discipline of Ancient Sparta was rigid and rigorous and designed to keep the military strength

of the State at its highest efficiency. No deformed child was allowed to be brought up; boys began to be drilled at seven and became regular soldiers at twenty. The typical Spartan mother, on the son's entry into the army, handed him his shield with the words: "My son, come home either *with* this shield or *on* it" (i.e., dead).

6. FUGLEMAN. In military matters, the leader or guide of a file of men. The word is of German origin; flügelmann from flügel, a wing.

Chapter 5

1. FELONY AND GET 'EM SHIPPED OFF. A reference to the former punishment of transportation, abolished in 1867.

2. NORFOLK ISLAND. An islet in the Pacific Ocean about 900 miles north-east of New South Wales to which convicts were sent (to prevent any opportunity of escape) between 1788 and 1805 and again between 1826 and 1855.

Chapter 6

1. I HAVE LOST HIM. Poor old Mrs. Pegler; she knew, as the reader guesses already before her story is told in full in Book III, chapter 5, that the egregious Bounderby would never acknowledge her as his mother unless he were driven in a corner.

2. LORD CHESTERFIELD . . . HIS SON. The 4th Earl of Chesterfield (1694-1773) is best remembered by his remarkable "Letters to his Son," which were, before publication, written to his natural son, Philip. He also achieved some prominence in literary history, apart from his public offices, as he was the recipient of the celebrated letter from Samuel Johnson on the publication without his patronage of the latter's great dictionary in 1755.

3. TAKE HIS ARM. The social conventions of the nineteenth century demanded that a gentleman should offer his arm to any lady he was escorting, either in the open air, or even from one room to another in the house. No lady was supposed to be able to move unless her hand rested within the elbow of her escort (and protector). See also chapter 8 below.

Chapter 7

1. NEITHER CONSIDERED NOR CARED. A further example of Harthouse's similarity of character with Wrayburn.

2. GORGON. The Gorgons were three frightful women, in Greek mythology, the best known of whom was Medusa, whose hair was changed to serpents and whose appearance was so terrifying that everyone who looked at her was changed to stone. The fable is also used by Dickens with great effect in the *Tale of Two Cities.*

3. DEPTH ANSWERS TO DEPTH. Adapted from Psalm xlii, 7: "Deep calleth to deep." ("One deep calleth another" in the Prayer Book version.)

4. ACCIDENTS DID SOMETIMES HAPPEN. A variant of the saying "Accidents will happen in the best regulated families,"

which is an enlargement of a phrase that originated with George the Elder in his play *The Deuce is in him* (1763): "Accidents, accidents will happen—no less than seven brought into our infirmary yesterday." Having gained currency the phrase was apparently applied to instances where the word "accident" had a now obsolete meaning for the condition of a betrayed female, and in this sense is used, slightly altered, by Scott in *Peveril of the Peak*, chapter xlix: "Had your Ladyship any reason to suspect . . . any improper intimacy between Master Peveril and this same female attendant? . . . such things will befall in the best regulated families." Dickens puts the saying in its accepted form into Jingle's mouth in *Pickwick Papers*, chapter ii, and also credits Micawber with it when the cookery went wrong at David Copperfield's party in chapter xxviii: "Accidents will occur in the best regulated families."

5. SHAVING HIMSELF IN A BOOT. Using his reflection in the high polish of a well-blacked boot. One of many references scattered through Dickens's works to his youthful experiences at Warren's warehouse at Hungerford Stairs, Blackfriars. One of the advertisements shewed a cat enraged at its own reflection.

6. WESTMINSTER SCHOOL . . . KING'S SCHOLAR. One of the famous English Public Schools, it was founded in the fourteenth century, being attached to the Monastery. After the dissolution it was refounded by Henry VIII. Queen Elizabeth ordered that the number of boys should be 120, of whom 40 were entitled Queen's (later of course King's) Scholars admitted by special examination who received free tuition, board and lodging; the remainder being known as Town Boys. King's Scholars have the privilege of election to studentships at Christ Church, Oxford, and to scholarships at Trinity College, Cambridge. These privileges are, since 1874, open to the whole school, which now has 260 boys.

7. SLEEPING IN MARKET-BASKETS. Further evidence of Bounderby's lying statements about his London boyhood. It will be remembered that in *Pickwick Papers* Job Trotter, being too late to get back to the Fleet Prison before "lock-up" went to "Covent Garden to spend the night in a vegetable basket."

8. MAGGOT INTO A NUT. This simile for snugness must have appealed strongly to Dickens for he had already used it in *Bleak House:* "Here, in a large house, formerly a house of state, lives Mr. Tulkinghorn. It is let off in sets of chambers now; and in those shrunken fragments of its greatness, lawyers lie like maggots in nuts" (chapter x).

9. DARK BACK STREET IN ANTWERP. A speculation may be entertained that Dickens was thinking of Lady Hamilton in 1815 in obscure lodgings in Calais as his inspiration for this drivelling end of the accomplished Nickits.

10. ARCADIAN PROCEEDING. Simple and unsophisticated as the inhabitants of Arcadia, a province in the Peloponnesian peninsula.

11. OF THIS WORLD, WORLDLY. Adapted from Scripture: "The first man is of the earth, earthy." (I, Corinthians xv, 47.)

12. WHETHER THE CAP FITS YOU. Now applied to any circumstances, this saying originally was used for a foolish action. Molière has it: "If the fool's cap fits anybody, let them put it on." So does Richardson in Clarissa: "If indeed the cap fits thy own head . . . e'en take and clap it on."

13. POWERFUL FAMILIAR. The "familiar" was the daemon that was attendant upon everyone and gave silent advice, although of course the conclusion arrived at were one's own. Harthouse was an evil, even if a powerful, Familiar to Tom, but the outcome was the consequence of Tom's own determination.

CHAPTER 8

1. WHAT WILL BE, WILL BE. See Book II, chapter 2, note 3.

2. BEGGED HER TO TAKE HIS ARM. Observe the contrast between Harthouse and Bounderby; Harthouse all solicitude for Louisa's condition; Bounderby, irritated, only offering his escort to Mrs. Sparsit from a sense of duty, and thoroughly disliking it.

3. HEARD IN DUTCH CLOCKS. The whirring sound, usually louder in Dutch clocks than in others, preceding the strike. In a letter, dated September 14th, 1863, Dickens wrote to his clock-maker: "Since my hall clock was sent to your establishment to be cleaned it has gone (as indeed it always has) perfectly well, but has struck the hours with great reluctance, and after enduring internal agonies of a most distressing nature, it has now ceased striking altogether. Though a happy release for the clock, this is not convenient to the household. If you can send down any confidential person with whom the clock can confer, I think it may have something on its works that it would be glad to make a clean breast of."

4. AFTER THE HORSE IS STOLEN. A journalistic periphrasis for the old proverb: "It is no good locking the stable after the horse is stolen."

5. ALAS, POOR YORICK. Mrs. Sparsit in thinking of this familiar quotation from *Hamlet* must have associated Yorick with Bounderby as a "fellow of infinite jest . . . how abhorred in my imagination it is. My gorge rises at it." We know that her epithet for his portrait was "picture of a Noodle."

6. CANDLES WERE BROUGHT. The usual source of illumination, as many people preferred them to oil-lamps; they needed no elaborate cleaning every day as oil-lamps did. Gas had not become universal at the time.

7. MAUDLIN PERSUASION. Maudlin is a corruption of Magdalen; Mary Magdalen was usually represented by the old masters as weeping and with a disconsolate expression of face. The word is now often applied to tears of self-pity, and also to the weeping stage of drunkenness.

8. CROSSED IN SOMETHING TENDER. Bounderby having been brought up in the "FACTS" School and married to Louisa as a mere contract without any nonsense about it, could not possibly be "crossed in love."

Chapter 9

1. GRAPES GATHERED FROM THORNS. Taken from the figure of speech in St. Matthew, vii, 16.

2. JANE, NOW TEN OR TWELVE. There was a gap of at least ten years between the ages of Louisa and Jane; Adam Smith Gradgrind and Malthus Gradgrind came probably between the sisters as it is recorded in Book I, chapter 4, that the boys were out at lecture when Jane was only about five.

3. MAN WALKETH AND DISQUIETETH HIMSELF. This is from the Prayer Book version of the thirty-ninth Psalm, used in the Order for the Burial of the Dead: "For man walketh in a vain shadow, and disquieteth himself in vain" (verse 7).

Chapter 10

1. IN CLOVER. To live luxuriously, clover being extremely delicious and fattening to cattle (Johnson).

2. ON THE FAT OF THE LAND. The fat is the richest produce of the earth, both animal and vegetable. See Genesis xiv, 18: "Ye shall eat the fat of the land."

3. ROME WAS NOT BUILT IN A DAY. No, indeed; from the traditional 753 B.C. till the wall was constructed by the Emperor Aurelianus in A.D. 271-280 enclosing the seven hills upon which the city was built, is more than a thousand years. The proverb applied to any slow development, seems to have been current in England in the sixteenth century and Heywood included it in his book of Proverbs (1546). The French have known it since about 1200: "Rome ne fut pas faite toute en un jour" (Proverbs au Villain).

4. ROMULUS AND REMUS. The traditional twin brothers, suckled by a wolf, who determined to found a city on the river Tiber. Strife however arose between them and Remus was slain. Romulus gave his name to the city he is said to have founded in 753 B.C., but it is known from archaeological research that the site was inhabited before Romulus's time.

5. REGULAR ALDERNEY. Alderney cattle are those of the Channel Islands including the breeds of Jersey and Guernsey. They are noted for the large quantity and richness of the milk they yield in proportion to their size, which is rather smaller than that of ordinary cattle.

Chapter 11

1. INDIAN ALE. This variety of beer has an interesting history. A special quality beer was brewed by one Hodgson for consumption in India where it was highly appreciated by English residents. A misunderstanding between the London brewers who supplied it and the East India Company resulted in a request being made to William Bass of Burton-upon-Trent to supply a similar beer that would not deteriorate in the Indian climate; this was known as India Pale Ale. It was afterwards placed by Bass on the English market (Hobson-Jobson). The fame of Hodgson was sung in the Bon Gaultier Ballads (1845) written by

Theodore Martin and Professor Aytoun, in the ballad "Jupiter and the Indian Ale" in which the following lines occur:

"For you never were in India
That you know not Hodgson's Ale."
"Bring it," quoth the Cloud-compeller;
And the wine-god brought the beer—
"Port and claret are like water
To the noble stuff that's here."
And Saturnius drank and nodded,
Winking with his lightning eyes,
And amidst the constellations
Did the star of Hodgson rise.

2. BONNET AND SHAWL. The almost universal wear for women of all classes during most of the nineteenth century. Among the working population the bonnet was often omitted and the shawl was draped over the head. The shawls of the wealthy were of costly materials. In the *Times* of August 29th, 1843, it is reported that Queen Victoria on a "marine excursion" on Southampton Water "was dressed in a claret-coloured silk dress, over which she wore a Paisley shawl worked with green; she had on a straw bonnet with green feathers and ribands."

Book III

Chapter 1

1. SHADOWS OF A DREAM. A phrase that may have been borrowed from Keats's Endymion (1818):

"A hope beyond the shadow of a dream."

Chapter 2

1. IN THE LANCASHIRE MANNER. The rules governing wrestling differ slightly in various localities; there are differences between the Cumberland and Westmorland style and that of Devon and Cornwall. The most popular is the Lancashire or free style commonly known as "catch-as-catch-can." What could so lackadaisical a person as Harthouse know of so exciting and violent a sport? We read a few sentences further on that he had thoughts of giving "the waiter five shillings, to throw him."

2. HOLY OFFICE AND SLOW TORTURE. An allusion to the Holy Inquisition of the Roman Catholic Church, coupled with the barbaric cruelties of its judges in the fifteenth century in Spain under Thomas de Torquemada. The Inquisition as a tribunal for the discovery and punishment of heresy still exists and dates back to the earliest days of Christianity, but the Popes never countenanced, nor could they control, the excessive tortures inflicted during the worst years of its revolting activities.

3. HURRIED INTO THE GALLERY. Harthouse was staying at an old galleried inn (was it the Bull that Dickens so disparaged to Forster?—see Note 2 to chapter 3, Book I) and his bedroom gave on to the gallery surrounding the inn-yard.

Chapter 3

1. HOTEL IN ST. JAMES'S STREET. The precise hotel is not named but Bounderby had a wide choice. In Leigh's New Picture

of London, 1818, are mentioned Fenton's, Jordans Hotel and St. James's Royal Hotel, as well as several Coffee Houses; there were also five clubs, but of course Bounderby did not aspire to membership of a London Club.

2. SCREWING THE PATIENT'S THUMBS. This is the second time that Mrs. Sparsit fainted, and the second exhibition of the sadistic trend of Bounderby's nature. See also Book I, chapter 16, Note 1.

3. A COCK-AND-A-BULL. An exaggerated or unsubstantiated account. The expression is very old, and its derivation is obscure; Brewer offers two possible explanations, neither of which seems entirely satisfactory. The French equivalent is "faire un coq et l'âne."

4. PINCH OF CANDLE-SNUFF. A Bounderbyism playing on the saying "a pinch of snuff," which of course is quite a different thing.

5. FOR BETTER FOR WORSE. The well-known quotation from the Marriage Service. Bounderby did not like being reminded of his own argument when Stephen Blackpool had wanted release from *his* marriage, in chapter 11 of Book I: "You took her for better for worse." Besides, it did not correspond with the doctrine of FACTS.

6. TOSSING HIS HAT ON. A characteristic action by Bounderby. In chapter 4, Book I, he "threw on his hat—he always threw it on."

Chapter 4

1. MORE ADMIRABLE THAN VENUS. It will be remembered that the Roman Goddess of Spring, Venus, became identified with the Greek Aphrodite the Goddess of Love and Beauty, who was said to have risen from the waves of the sea; hence her name (aphros means foam).

2. CREEPING ON YOUR BELLIES. A reference to the curse on the serpent in the Garden of Eden in Genesis iii, 14: "Upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life."

Chapter 5

1. MELANCHOLY MAD ELEPHANTS. How Dickens dwells all through the book on the effect of monotony of mechanical employment.

2. I WAS YOUR MOTHER. So even Bounderby's *name* was assumed, and almost every word the Bully of humility used a calculated lie. Mrs. Pegler kept a little shop in a village forty-nine miles from Coketown (Book I, chapter 12) but Bounderby, among his other lies, let it be gathered that his youth was spent in London.

3. SLOUGH OF DESPOND. This is a simile drawn from Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress." But its application seems a little obscure. Mrs. Sparsit may have been "an unlucky female," but she afterwards recovered her spirits sufficiently to bear herself bravely, and to snub Bounderby when he discharged her in the final chapter.

Chapter 6

1. GAZING AT A STAR. "It ha' shined upon me." Stephen may, in his pain, have seen from the bottom of the pit-shaft, a star, perhaps visible even in the day-time, but astronomically it would not be the same star day after day in the same place for a week or more. That Stephen received comfort from the contemplation of *any* star is sufficient for the beauty of Stephen's character. Readers will not need to be reminded that one of Dickens's most charming short stories is "The Child's Dream of a Star" (Reprinted Pieces), and that in *The Uncommercial Traveller* he called the East London Children's Hospital "A Small Star in the East" because of its message of hope.

Chapter 7

1. SOAP-BUBBLE WITHOUT ITS BEAUTY. Anything but a compliment to Bounderby. It was Faraday who said that a soap-bubble was the most beautiful thing on earth.

2. HE MAY BE GOT ABROAD. What a change from the Gradgrind, the worshipper of FACT at the beginning of the book. Louisa's experience and Sissy's filial affection for her father had softened his outlook, and now he is ready, although an M.P., to "compound a felony" (as Bitzer reminded him) to assist his criminal son to escape punishment.

3. ATHLEY'TH. Astley's, close to Westminster Bridge, was probably the best known circus of the nineteenth century. It was founded by Philip Astley in 1774 and lasted till 1896. A plaque was fixed in 1951 to mark the site. Its popularity and the high standard of performance given made it the goal of any aspirant in the circus world. The open-air equestrian entertainments of Paris would also appeal to the ambitious.

4. GOIN' A BLACKBERRYIN' ON A HORTHE. Mr. Sleary's enthusiasm for his show is not a bit overdone. At Astley's Amphitheatre, Richard III was presented on horseback with all his staff also mounted, and this was so successful that Henry IV and Macbeth were also converted into equestrian productions. No wonder that Childers had aspirations for his son to go to Astley's or even to Paris. (See also Book I, chapter 3.)

5. GIANT (A VERY ECTHPENTHIVE BATHKET ONE). A reminder that for dramatic purposes giants and other large figures are usually made, for lightness, of basket-work or papier-mâché frames in which the person manipulating the figure can be accommodated.

6. JOTHKIN. The same as bumpkin, a clumsy awkward countryman. Joskin is probably from joss, a dialect word for bump or jostle, and kin, an affix meaning little.

Chapter 8

1. NOT RECKONING LUTH. Lush is a slang word for alcoholic liquor, "wet." Its origin is unknown but it has been current since the eighteenth century, and may have some association with lush, meaning succulent, as applied to vegetation that is luxuriant and full of sap or juice.

Chapter 9

1. WATCHING THE FIRE. As has been pointed out in Note 3 to chapter 8 in Book I, FACT with all its materialism cannot prevent thought. Louisa's loveless marriage was a sacrifice to her father's doctrine, but it was love and sentiment that attracted her back home and shewed even Gradgrind the inefficiency of his own teaching. Sissy never even tried to assimilate the hard tenets of FACT. So the book closes with Louisa watching the fire, FACTS behind her, and love and tenderness predominant at last.

PEPPER AND *THE HAUNTED MAN*

By Malcolm Morley

THE stage history of *The Haunted Man* is scanty compared with that of previous Dickens's stories. As a tale it appeared in print on December 19th, 1848, and the following evening an adaptation by Mark Lemon was produced at the Adelphi Theatre. Lemon, as in the case of *The Chimes*, had received the proof-sheets in advance from the novelist and was able to complete his play before any of the others taken from the same source were even begun. Not that there were many adaptations of *The Haunted Man*. The Adelphi was the only house of importance in London to stage a dramatisation, whereas three years earlier nearly all the theatres in the metropolis had versions of his seasonal offering *The Cricket on the Hearth*. The vogue of the Christmas tales had declined. In 1846 *The Battle of Life* had proved disappointing as a drama and the following Christmas Charles had had no story published from which to construct a play. He had begun *The Haunted Man* but put the work on one side so as to give his time to *Dombey and Son*, then in course of serialisation. The volume intended for 1847 was not issued until 1848 and, without doubt, was less suited for the stage than any of his earlier seasonal stories.

The division of the book into three parts helped to chart the piece for Lemon but the dramatic values in the story were not sufficiently defined to provide the play with the essential element of suspense. Redlaw, the professor of chemistry, haunted by the spirit of his former self is an echo of Scrooge, a far away echo. The gift granted to him in Part One is that of bestowing upon others his own glum idiosyncrasies. In Part Two the gift is diffused; while in Part Three, on Christmas Day, the gift is reversed and everybody restored to happiness. The most effective moments in the piece are those in which the Tetterby family figure; from the struggling newsvendor at the head to little Adolphus and that Moloch of a baby, Sally, at the tail. Mr. Tetterby and his ample wife were amusingly portrayed by Edward Wright (playing his last Dickens character) and Mrs. Frank Matthews. On the serious side, Redlaw, of sad and sombre mien, was acted by Henry Hughes and his ghost by the sepulchral O. Smith. Others were Milly by Miss Woolgar, Longford by Boyce, Old Swidger by Lambert and William Swidger by James Munyard, a quiet and natural comedian. Music was composed and arranged for the play by Alfred Mellon who at the same time

THEATRE ROYAL, NEW ADELPHI.

SOLE PROPRIETOR AND MANAGER, MR. BENJAMIN WEBSTER.

The Ghost! The Ghost!! The Ghost!!!

SEE AND BELIEVE.

☞ THE GREAT TETTERBY SCENE,

A Real Screamer in THE HAUNTED MAN!

Mrs. ALFRED MELLON, (Miss WOOLGAR,)
Mr. J. L. TOOLE,
THE NELSON SISTERS.

Mrs. STIRLING,

The Popular Artiste, is Engaged, and will appear in a NEW COMIC DRAMA.

FIRST NIGHT OF A NEW COMIC DRAMA, entitled The

HEN AND CHICKENS!

☞ TRIUMPHANT SUCCESS of the GHOST DRAMA.

Mr. BENJAMIN WEBSTER has much pleasure in giving publicity to the unqualified letter of approval from Professor DIRCKS:

"Crystal Palace Hotel, Sydenham, 10th July, 1863.

"Sir,—As the Inventor of the Optical Illusion adapted by Professor PEPPER to the purposes of your Theatre, allow me to acquaint you that, being there during the performance last week, I was very much gratified by the superior and successful manner in which the entire piece was conducted.

"Believe me, Sir, your's very respectfully, HENRY DIRCKS, C.E."

82nd, 83rd, 84th, 85th, 86th & 87th TIMES,

OF THE GRAND SCREAMING BURLESQUE,

ILL TREATED IL TROVATORE!

This Evening, MONDAY, August 24th, 1863, & During the Week,

The Performances will commence at SEVEN o'clock with (NEVER ACTED) an Entirely NEW COMIC DRAMA, entitled The

HEN AND CHICKENS!

OR, A *SIGN* OF AFFECTION.

With New Scenery by Messrs. JAMES & THOMPSON, and New Appointments by Mr. IRELAND.

Alfred Cosby,	Mr. BILLINGTON,	Mr. Soft Sawderley,	Mr. C. H. STEPHENSON,	
Tom Soft Sawderley,	Mr. W. H. EBURNE,	James,	Mr. R. PHILLIPS,	
Mrs. Soft Sawderley,	—	—	Mrs. STIRLING,	
Angelina,	Miss HENRIETTA SIMMS,	Prinks,	Miss A. SEAMAN.	

At a Quarter-past Eight

Will be produced, at a vast expense, in consequence of the Extraordinary Machinery and the appliances requisite for the marvellous New Spectral Effects, (which are the property of this Theatre only, and duly registered,) A DRAMA, IN THREE TABLEAUX, to be called the

HAUNTED MAN

AND THE

GHOST'S BARGAIN

Founded on the Popular Story of that name, written by CHARLES DICKENS, Esq., in which will be exhibited PROFESSOR PEPPER'S Adaptation of the Great Spectral Illusion, invented by H. DIRCKS, Esq.

Preceded by the Overture to HAYDEE, by AUBER.
The Incidental Music Composed expressly by ALFRED MELLON, Esq.
The Scenery by Messrs. JAMES, THOMPSON, and Assistants. The Dresses by Mesdames RAYNER, PARSONS, and Assistants. Machinery by Mr. POWELL. Appointments by Mr. IRELAND
The Music under the Direction of M. RIVIERE.

THE GIFT BESTOWED.

TABLEAU I.—THE CHEMIST'S CHAMBER.

Mr. Redlaw (a Learned Man and Teacher of Chemistry—The Haunted Man) Mr. R. PHILLIPS,
The Phantom, — —
Old Phillip Swidger, (Superannuated Custodian of the Institution) Mr. C. J. SMITH,
William Swidger, (his Son and Lacquey in Office) Mr. BILLINGTON,
Milly, (Wife of William Swidger—"She was so calm and quiet") Miss HENRIETTA SIMMS

TABLEAU II.—TETTERBY'S PARLOUR.

A. Tetterby & Co., (Newsman, Confectioner, Toy-dealer, Milliner, Tobacconist, &c.)
Mr. J. L. TOOLE.
Mrs. Tetterby, (his "Little Woman") Miss WOOLGAR—Mrs. A. MELLON,
Adolpus Tetterby, (the First-born) Miss STOKER,
Johnny Tetterby, (the Second-born, and Nurse to Tetterby's Baby) Master BROWN,
Sally, ("Tetterby's Baby was as well known in the neighbourhood as the postman or the potboy") — — — Miss • • •
Phillip, Benjamin, Edward, Samuel and Thomas Tetterby, Masters ROBBINS, CLARK, HAMILTON, JONES, HARDY.

THE GIFT DIFFUSED.

TABLEAU III.—THE CHEMIST'S CHAMBER

THE GIFT REVERSED.

The Orchestra, under the direction of Mons. J. RIVIERE, will perform:—

Overture	... "LA SIRENE" ...		Auber.
1 Entr'acte	"THE RATAPLAN POLKA" (Cornet Obligato)		Koenig.
2 Entr'acte	"THE BENGALI," Variations for the Flageolet		Bougnol.
Overture	... "DER FREYSCHUTZ" ...		Weber.
3 Entr'acte	... "LES ROSES," Set of Valses ...		O. Metra.
Solo Flageolet and Cornet,	...	Mons. BONNISSEAU.	

To conclude with, at TEN O'CLOCK PRECISELY (82nd, 83rd, 84th, 85th, 86th and 87th Times,) THE NEW AND ORIGINAL BURLESQUE EXTRAVAGANZA, founded on a famous though somewhat confusing Opera, entitled

ILL TREATED IL TROVATORE!

OR,

The Mother, the Maiden & the Musicianer.

WRITTEN BY HENRY J. BYRON, ESQ.

Manrico, (the original Wandering Minstrel, a real good fellow though a true-bad-doer) Miss CARRY NELSON,
Count di Luna, — (Count di Magistrate) — Mr. R. PHILLIPS,
Ferrando, — (his "creature") — Mr. W. H. EBURNE,
1st Guard Mr. PAULO, 2nd Guard, Mr. ALDRIDGE,
The Kinchin, (a Gipsy Thief, lent for the occasion from the "Flowers of the Forest") Mr. PAUL BEDFORD,
1st Gipsy, Mr. C. J. SMITH, 2nd Gipsy, Mr. R. ROMER,
Ruiz, — — — Miss A. SEAMAN,
Leonora, (a ward of Di Luna's, eventually awarded to Manrico) Miss SARA NELSON,
Azucena, (an elderly Gipsy party, with a great deal on her mind) Mr. J. L. TOOLE,
1st Schoolgirl Miss WRIGHT 2nd Do., Miss STOKER, 3rd Do, Miss TAYLOR,
Ines, — (Leonora's confidential tire woman) — Miss KATE KELLY.

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By courtesy of the Enthoven Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum.

was wooing and winning Miss Woolgar, an actress associated with the Adelphi for the greater part of her career.

Upon the heels of the Mark Lemon play came two other versions of *The Haunted Man*. Both were anonymous and seen in minor playhouses. One (probably concocted by Samuel Atkins) was given at the Albert Saloon on December 30th, 1848, and the other at the Queen's on January 1st, 1849. A version by C. A. Somerset might have been played about this time at the Bower Saloon where he was supplying a number of dramas. That would seem to complete the list of stage appearances of *The Haunted Man* in London immediately upon the publication of the story.

Edward Stirling, still continuing to adapt Dickens as he had done without a halt since *The Pickwick Papers*, prepared a dramatisation of Charles's latest work. The piece was intended for the Olympic Theatre where Henry Spicer was in command and Stirling, himself, the stage manager. It was duly submitted to the Lord Chamberlain and his license obtained for the play's public performance. But Stirling's *Haunted Man* never graced the Olympic boards. After the cool reception given to Lemon's version at the Adelphi, Spicer probably hesitated about doing another. Perhaps he delayed too long before putting the play into rehearsal. The Olympic was burnt down in March of 1849. It was rebuilt and opened again nine months' later but Spicer was then no longer in management. With this, his last adaptation from Dickens, the ever-ready Stirling abruptly ceased to make plays from the novels. He was having less and less luck with the novelist. His version of *The Battle of Life* had been a failure and now his dramatisation of *The Haunted Man* was not even produced. " Enough of Dickens " might have been the playwright's cry, just as Dickens had surely exclaimed in the past " Enough of Stirling."

On January 15th, 1849, the Victoria Theatre, that is the Old Vic when it was not so old, gave a piece called *The Haunted Shopkeeper; or, A Queer Ghost Story about a Goblin.* The idea was obviously suggested by the Dickens story but its fun was all the laboured fun of disguises and surprises. T. H. Higgie was seen as Dick Fantome, a hair-brained fellow who impersonated his fellow shopman, Jacob Splodger, thereby causing that individual to think Fantome to be his other self.

In centres away from London a number of *Haunted Man* plays, mostly of local manufacture, were produced early in 1849. The Liver Theatre in Liverpool gave one on January 8th and versions followed in Ipswich and in Boston, Lincolnshire. At the last named place the adaptation was the work of a member in the stock company there, a youth of nineteen; name—T. W. Robertson. He was to achieve fame in the years to come as the author of *Caste, School,* and other comedies that were to bring a new phase of naturalism into the theatre. C. A. Somerset's version was acted in Dundee and claimed to be the first play about *The Haunted Man* staged in Scotland. Tetterby was played by J. W. Anson and Old Swidger by Stoddard, both actors to gain considerable repute later in Britain and America. Shortly after the one in Dundee a dramatisation was performed at the Victoria Theatre, Edinburgh.

Then came a lull. In London it was fourteen years before *The*

Haunted Man was seen again. The reason for his return was due more to Professor Pepper than to Dickens. J. H. Pepper was something of a scientist and something of an illusionist. He lectured on a number of topics and demonstrated theories of his own. Electrical Experiments, Optical Illusions, the Phenomenon of Polarised Light and the Showing of the Human Breath on a Screen were among the subjects selected by him to entertain his listeners at the Polytechnic in Regent Street where he held forth. Here towards the end of 1868, he gave what was termed "A Strange Lecture" in which, to quote the syllabus, was introduced "Mr. Dirck's illusion in illustration of Mr. Charles Dickens's *Haunted Man*." The illusion was one where Pepper had vastly improved upon Dirck and it came to be known as Pepper's Ghost, a term still in use to describe this particular trick or contrivance. Professor Pepper, as he was called, read a portion of the tale and at the appropriate moment the Ghost appeared in what seemed a magical manner. The result was achieved by a sheet of glass set at an angle on the platform above a concealed trap. People seated in the hall were not aware of the glass, it being so arranged that they looked right through it. But when a character was in position under the trap, illuminated by a strong concentrated light, the reflection of that person would be caught by the glass and it would seem as if the character were actually on the platform. The effect was eerily realistic. As the person below moved so the visible reflection moved, even to the extent of passing through chairs, tables and carefully placed furniture.

It was not long before Pepper's Ghost was made use of in plays. At the Britannia a drama, *Faith, Hope and Charity*, was specially written by C. H. Hazlewood, to introduce the illusion, and brought out on Easter Monday, April 6th, 1863. Benjamin Webster, manager of the Adelphi, had material to hand in Mark Lemon's dramatisation of *The Haunted Man* which had served him in the past. Impressed with the illustrations to Pepper's reading of the story at the Polytechnic, Webster decided to revive the play, adding to it the ghostly effects exhibited at that establishment. Accordingly the piece was re-arranged to allow for the introduction of the illusion and staged on June 30th, 1863. Pepper was the star of the evening despite Dickens and Toole. The latter, it should be said, was now principal comedian at the theatre in place of Wright, from whom he took over the part of Mr. Tetterby, playing it in a subdued comic manner. Others in the cast with J. L. Toole were R. Phillips as Redlaw, John Billington as William Swidger, Henrietta Simms as Milly and Mrs. Alfred Mellon (Miss Woolgar that was) as Mrs. Tetterby.

From those Adelphi days to the present *The Haunted Man* has had practically no showing in London or the provinces. *The Tetterbys*, a published play by Mrs. George Macdonald, acted by amateurs, could be named. Another new dramatisation of *The Haunted Man* was given at the Oddfellows' Hall, Jersey, on December 14th, 1908. This psychological phantasy, so the programme described it, was the contribution of E. C. Boielle, an Island author who piloted several of Dickens's Christmas stories to the stage.

To go back and follow adaptations of *The Haunted Man* in America; three different versions were seen in New York soon after the publication of the tale. The first was at Burton's Theatre on January 10th, 1849; very quick work, indeed, considering that the story had only appeared in print in England twenty-two days before and the journey across the Atlantic could not be made at that time in a few hours by air. The passage by sea took more than a fortnight at its quickest. How the adapter, John Brougham, did it is a puzzle. Is it possible that he had proof-sheets too? In the version made by him he voiced the Ghost, and Brougham had a very Irish voice. Redlaw was played by H. Lynne and Tetterby by the manager, W. E. Burton. Five days later at Mitchell's Olympic was an adaptation, presumably by Charles Walcot who acted Redlaw in it. Holland played Tetterby and Reynolds the Ghost. The third version gave credit to no adaptor and was staged at the famous Bowery Theatre on January 29th with J. M. Scott as Redlaw, John Winans as Tetterby, John Gilbert as the Ghost and Mrs. Gilbert as Mrs. Tetterby.

The Haunted Man was, of course, performed in other cities of the United States and the version of John Brougham was the one generally used. But the piece did not remain long on the acting list. *The Haunted Man* would seem to have vanished from the American stage for something like a century.

MALCOLM MORLEY'S WORK ON DRAMA FROM DICKENS

It is now seven years since Mr. Malcolm Morley began the serial publication in *The Dickensian*, of his exhaustive work on the drama derived from the works of Dickens. We are privileged to announce that he has every intention of continuing the series until it is complete. Mr. Morley, an authority on theatrical history, has had a distinguished career as actor, producer, and dramatist, and has spent very many years, in the intervals of his professional activities, in the collection of programmes and data for this work which, when finished, will undoubtedly be the standard one on the subject. His painstaking researches have been carried out both in England and in the United States, with the result that he possesses the programme or the cast of every Dickens production in the English-speaking world. When the series is complete, it is Mr. Morley's intention to publish it in volume form. In the meantime it cannot be too strongly emphasised that the copyright is strictly reserved. EDITOR.

Gold Beaters' sign There was recently sold in Caladh, Argyleshire, the Gold Beaters' sign referred to by Dickens in *A Tale of Two Cities*. It takes the form of an upraised arm bearing a hammer, and was removed from its original position in Manette Street, formerly Rose Street, in 1906. A gold beaters' stone from the same premises is at the Dickens House, the gift of Mr. Gilbert Foyle, whose book-selling business now occupies the site.

Contributions for this page are invited. Press cuttings not acceptable.

BATH

The 1951-1952 session was inaugurated by a social at the invitation of the President, Mr. H. B. Dawes. Mr. F. W. G. Thomas gave a paper on *Pickwick Papers* which was followed by a series of readings.

At the Birthday Dinner the Archdeacon of Bath, the Ven. E. A. Cook, proposed the toast of " The Immortal Memory." Lectures were given by the Hon. Secretary, Mr. W. J. Hone, and the Life President, Mr. W. Blathwayt. The session, under the able presidency of Mr. Dawes, has been a very successful one. The membership has increased and attendances at meetings have been well maintained. Mr. G. Breakwell was elected as President for the new session. The Secretary, Mr. Hone, has been succeeded by Miss G. M. Rolling. The warm thanks of the Branch were tendered to Mr. Hone for his valuable services.—F.W.G.T.

HULL

The Hull Branch has completed another successful season, which commenced with a Social Evening. The Syllabus included a lecture on " Light Reading of the Victorians," by Mrs. D. A. N. Jessop, M.A., J.P., a New Year's Party, a talk on " Hull in the Days of Mr. Pickwick," by Mr. W. H. Hodge, B.Sc., a President's Evening, when members gave readings from one of their favourite incidents in Dickens novels, a Dramatic Evening, with excerpts from the novels. At the Birthday Dinner the President, Mrs. J. Crosby Witty occupied the chair. " The Immortal Memory " was proposed by Principal Nicholson, M.A., a well-known broadcaster. Other speakers were Councillor H. J. Barney, Deputy Lord Mayor, and Past President, Councillor Mrs. N. Parkin, Rev. F. W. Haworth, B.Sc., R. A. Brewer, a leading Hull journalist and C. F. Tatam, Vice-President.—M.C.

WOLVERHAMPTON

The Branch has had a varied and busy season of Lectures, Discussions and Readings. Welcome visits were paid by Mr. John Greaves, and Miss Ruth Whittaker, from London, and a group from Birmingham. A visit was made to Tewkesbury by motor-coach, which, owing to the welcome extended by the President and Secretary of the Branch there, was highly successful.

—G.M.W.

The thanks and congratulations of the Fellowship are respectively offered to the following retiring and newly-elected branch Secretaries: Miss G. M. Rolling who succeeds Mr. W. J. Hone at Bath, Miss G. M. Lloyd, who succeeds Miss Irene Howes at Liverpool, Mrs. Stock who takes over again from Mr. D. Cowd at Portsmouth, and Miss D. A. Kendall Pearson, the bearer of an illustrious name in Gloucester Dickensian annals, who succeeds Mrs. Murray in that city.

A warm welcome is extended to Mr. and Mrs. S. A. Ferguson and Miss B. Craig, of Christchurch, N.Z., Mr. F. W. C. Hersey and Mrs. F. Garrigus, of Boston, Mass., Mrs, H. Lebeson of Chicago and Mrs. Floyd Yoder of Pittsburgh, all of whom have arrived in London.

OBITUARY

Another outstanding figure of the early days of the Fellowship has gone. Frank Staff died on May 25th. He gave unselfish devotion to the cause in a variety of capacities for many years. He will perhaps be chiefly remembered by his brilliant work in the Dickens Fellowship Dramatic Company before the First World War. Bransby Williams writes: "He was my first Artful Dodger and I never had a better. Then he was my Sim Tappertit and to the manner born. I always felt that if Dickens had seen him he would have rubbed his eyes—he was so like."

The Philadelphia Branch mourns the death of one of its charter members, Dr. Wm. Ives Rutter, Jr. the historian. His great enthusiasm for Dickens, his great library of Dickensiana, and his wisdom were ever at the disposal of Branch officers, by whom he will be sadly missed.

We also regret to record the death of Mr. Wm. Blathwayt, Life President, Bath, Mrs. E. C. Eastman of Marinette, Mr. John Winbolt of St. Pancras, Mrs. G. W. Parkinson, and Mr. Percy Waymark of Headquarters.

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	£ s. d.		*Branch Total to date* £ s. d.
Bath	0 12 10		33 3 0
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Mrs. Astley Walsh	0 5 0		
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		£25 10 0	127 17 0
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Nottingham—			
Mrs. Giles—Sketches	6 10 0		
Mr. Sand's—Plays	0 16 0		277 3 6
Rochester—A. C. Halliday	0 12 6		109 15 6
Rugby—A. G. M.	1 10 0		33 8 6
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Mr. and Mrs. Proctor—Garden Party	10 12 6		
"West Country"	1 1 0		
Anon	0 12 6		
T. V. Brewer (House of Arts Lit. Circle)	0 10 0		1809 6 10

Total to date: £7.621 10*s.* 9*d.*

The Dickens Fellowship
LONDON MEETINGS

Sept. 12-15	Annual Conference, Ashridge, Herts.
,, 15	Jubilee Reception, Crosby Hall, Chelsea. Admission by ticket only.
,, 15	Jubilee Dinner, Dorchester Hotel. Tickets 25*s.* inclusive.
,, 16-21	Jubilee Tour of Dickensland.
Oct. 6	**Jubilee Celebration, Middle Temple Hall.** Admission by ticket only. Apply to Hon. Secretary.
,, 11	Ramble: "Westminster," conducted by Mr. T. V. BREWER. Meet Lambeth Bridge, Millbank, 2.30 p.m.
,, 18	Afternoon Lecture: "Meditations in Wellington Street," by Mr. T. W. HILL, Swedenborg Hall, 2.30 p.m.
,, 30	Emlyn Williams as Charles Dickens. In the presence of H.M. Queen Elizabeth, The Queen Mother. Drury Lane Theatre, 2.30 p.m. *See page* 145.
Nov. 12	Lecture: "The Personality of Dickens," by Mr. RICHARD CHURCH, Swedenborg Hall, 7 p.m.

WALTER T. SPENCER

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1952

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DICKENSIAN RECITAL CONDUCTED TOUR

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